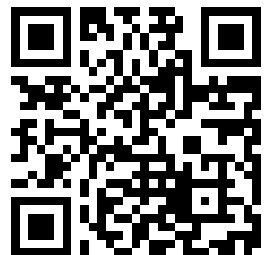

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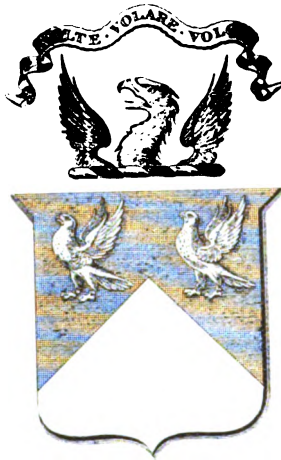
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THESES

ON

INDIAN HISTORY

Written under the Direction of

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

Vol. 2.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOSIAH AND SIR JOHN CHILD

IN INDIAN AFFAIRS. (1830-90.)

THESIS

PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

BACHELOR OF ARTS

BY

DANIEL CHAUNCEY KNOWLTON.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

1898

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illustrative of the time in India. These two volumes have been invaluable in preparing this thesis. A large number of original letters are included in the biographies, and form the basis of a large part of the history of Keigwin's Insurrection and the war in Bengal, especially in the documentary memoirs of Charnock (Vol. II, pp. 45-100.), and Sir Thomas Grantham. (Vol. II, pp. 160-185.) Considerable material is included for a study of Sir Josiah Child, a sketch of whose life is given on pp. 112-120, Vol. II.) Cited as, "Hedges."

CHAPTER 1.

THE CHILD FAMILY.

Sir Josiah and Sir John Child were sons of Richard Child, Esq. of London by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of - Roycroft of Weston 's Wick, co. Salop. The Childs were an ancient family, for many years seated at Northwick, Poole-Court, Shrowley, and Pencock, co. Worcester. Sir Josiah is spoken of as the second son, and as Sir John was younger than Sir Josiah, there must have been other children, ^{but} their names and fate are shrouded in mystery.

Sir Josiah was married three times. By his first wife, Anne, the daughter of Edward Boat of Portsmouth, he had one daughter and two sons. The daughter, Elizabeth, married John Howland of Streatham, and was the mother of Elizabeth, Duchess of Bedford. The sons died in infancy. By his second wife, Mary, daughter of William Atwood of Hackney and widow of Thos. Stone, of London, merchant, he had one son and two daughters. The son,

who was named after his father, succeeded as second baronet in 1699, and married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Thos. Cooke, Knt., of London. Sir Josiah, Junior, was M. P. for Wareham. He died without issue 20 Jan., 1704. Rebecca, the elder daughter of Sir Josiah by his second wife, was twice married, first to Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, and secondly to John, Lord Granville. Mary, the younger daughter, was married first to Edward Bullock of Faulkborn Hall, Essex, and secondly to --Hutchinson. By his third wife, Emma, youngest daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Bernard, Knt., of Stoke, Salop, and relict of Sir Thos. Willoughby of Wollaton, co. Notts, Sir Josiah had two sons, Bernard, who died unmarried in June 1698, aged 21; and Richard.

Richard succeeded as third baronet at the death of his half brother, Sir Josiah, in 1703-4. He was M. P. for Essex, and was created, 24 Apr., 1716, Baron of Newton, co. Kerry and Viscount Castlemaine. On 11 Jan., 1731, he was further created Earl Tylney of Castlemaine, also in the peerage of Ireland. His lordship married Dorothy, only surviving daughter and heir of John Glynn, Esq. of Healey Park, Surrey. By Dorothy, his second wife, daughter of Francis Tylney of Rotherwick, who died 23 Feb., 1743, he had three sons, Richard, who died 19 Feb. 1733-4, John, his heir, and Josiah, a lieutenant of dragoons.

By an act of parliament, passed 24 March, 1734, his lordship's eldest son and heirs assumed the surname of Tylney on ac-

count of the large estates which devolved on his wife, Lady Tylney, as heiress of Anne, Lady Craven, daughter of Frederick Tylney of Rotherwick. Lord Tylney died in 1749, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John. All honors became extinct with his death, 17 Sept., 1784.

Catherine Tylney Long, a descendant of the first Earl Tylney's daughter, married and carried the fortune of the Childs to William Pole Tylney-Long-Wellesley, second son of the second Earl of Mornington, younger brother of the Marquis Wellesley, and elder brother of Arthur Duke of Wellington, who was created Lord Maryborough in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and who afterwards succeeded as 4th Earl of Mornington in the peerage of Ireland.

Sir John Child married a sister of Ward, sometime Deputy Governor of Bombay, and left no children. His widow afterwards married George Weldon, the Deputy Governor of Bombay.

The manor of Wanstead, the estate of Sir Josiah Child, has an interesting history. It was originally given by Alfric to S. Peter's Westminster. In the reign of Henry III, it belonged to Hugh de Moding. In 1333, it was held by John Huntercombe. In 1597, it was bought by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicesters. In 1619, it was in the possession of the Mildmay family from whom it was purchased by Sir Josiah Child in 1673. At his death it devolved to his son Richard, Viscount Castlemaine and

Earl Tylney. After the death of the 2nd Earl, it passed to Sir James Tylney Long, bart., of Draycot in Wiltshire, son of Emma, daughter of Richard, Earl Tylney. At his death (1784) his only son James Tylney, an infant, inherited the estate. He was succeeded by his eldest sister, who married William Pole Tylney-Long-Wellesley. The old manorial residence was called Naked Hall Howe. Mary passed some days there after her succession to the throne. In 1578, the Earl of Leicester entertained Queen Elizabeth there. The present Wanstead House was built by Sir Richard Child in 1715 and is of Portland Stone. It is situated in an extensive park near the church. It contains a noble hall, 57 feet long, 36 wide, and a very grand ballroom.

Wanstead Parish Church (S. Mary), a pretty little brick structure cased in Portland Stone with Doric cupola, built as early as 1790, contains a handsome monument with an epitaph to the memory of Sir Josiah Child, who died June 22, 1699, aged 69. Under a canopy is the effigy of the deceased as large as life, and standing on a pedestal beneath, is the effigy of his son in a recumbent posture, dressed in a Roman habit, half covered with drapery. On each side sits a female figure veiled and angels with torches unveiled.

1. The details as to the Child family are drawn from Burke's *Extinct Peerage* and the facts in the epitaph of Sir Josiah Child; the account of Wanstead House is taken from Ogeorne's *History of Essex*, pp. 66-8.

CHAPTER II.

SIR JOSIAH CHILD—HIS POLITICAL AND MERCANTILE CAREER—CONDITION OF THE LONDON EAST INDIA COMPANY WHEN HE BECAME CHAIRMAN OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS—HIS CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE.

Sir Josiah Child, the second son of Richard Child, a merchant of London, was born in 1630. He was apprenticed to a merchant at an early age, and in 1650, or even before, was established at Plymouth as a full-fledged merchant. As early as 1653 he held some post of respon-

sibility connected with the navy. A letter written by Francis Willoughby (in all probability to the Admiralty Commissioners) under date of June 10, contains the first mention of his name in the State Papers in connection with the navy. It informs them that he had sent up to London eight wounded men to be placed in some hospital, and desired that they would give further orders about them. " Mr. Child has come down from you as ill furnished with orders for money as he went up, the same scruples remaining, and he is unwilling to pay any ticket here, though the men live here, or are disposed to be here, notwithstanding our pressing straits for men. Pray let the treasurer send some punctual order. If Child were allowed a half penny in the pound, it is nothing but reason, as he takes such pains. " ¹ This office may have been that of Deputy Treasurer, or Agent to the Navy Treasurer, which he held in 1654, 1655, and 1656. In 1658 he was also occupied in furnishing stores to the navy. In 1659 he is again referred to (in the papers of the navy) as Deputy Treasurer. Whether he held this office right through from 1654 to 1659 is uncertain. The records of his early life are too scanty to enable one to narrate them with anything like completeness. In 1658 he was elected mayor of

1. C. S. P. 1652-3, pp. 400-1.

Portsmouth, and while occupying that office 400 Spanish prisoners, captured on their way to Ostend, were placed in his keeping.

In 1661, he was again engaged in supplying navy stores at Portsmouth, evidently carrying on an extensive business, and is no longer referred to as Deputy Treasurer. Mr. Child's 'deals' were worth 4£5s per hundred, and he had 11,000 of them, according to an extract from the papers of the navy, dated June 26, 1661.¹ 'Deals' were not the only article of merchandise in which he was interested. He dealt extensively in masts, bowsprits and yards, pipestaves and tobacco, generally in partnership with other merchants. On April 30, 1666, he was recommended to the Brewers' Company of London for admission, as one who had done faithful service in supplying the navy with beer, and had bought a brew house in Southwark to brew for the household and navy.² He must have acquired at this time an extensive knowledge of the difficulties of trade in different lands, as the ships in which he was interested plied the Atlantic to New England, as well as the Mediterranean. His masts brought from 25£ for those of 20 in. in diameter, to 33£ for those of 25 in.³ In 1689 the House of Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the conduct of Pepys and Child in a suit for obtaining compensation for the loss of the "*Phoenix*", probably referred to in the follow-

1. C. S. P. 1661-2, p. 18.

3. C. S. P. 1664-5, p. 566.

2. C. S. P. 1661-6, p. 371.

ing extract from Pepys's Diary, under date of Jan. 14, 1664;
 " Our late ill news confirmed in the loss of two ships in the
 Straights.¹ " This suit was held March 21, 1666-7. Pepys writes,
 " It is interesting to see what money will do. Yesterday Sir
 William Walker was might cold on our behalf, till Sir William
 Batten promised him if we sped in this business of the goods,
 a coach, and if at the next trial we sped for the ship, we would
 give him a pair of horses, and he hath strove for us to-day like
 a prince, though the Swede's agent was there with all the vehe-
 mence he could to save the goods, and yet we carried it against
 him.² " In 1668, in company with Thos. Papillon, Child applied ,
 although ineffectually, for the post of victualler of the navy,
 but later, in 1671; was one of three victuallers, supplying beef,
 pork, fish, pipestaves, hogshhead staves, biscuit bags, and bay
 salt.³ London soon became his headquarters, and he had an office
 on Tower Hill.

He came into office again as a Navy Commissioner in 1669.
 Pepys thought his influence worth something with the Duke of
 Buckingham and his faction, if Child would " instil good words
 concerning him " as he feared that he was about to lose his of-
 fice. At this time Child was by no means popular with the Duke
 of York. Pepys says, under date of Apr. 2, 1669,⁴ " I did give the
 Duke..a short account of the navy..but I do find that he

1. Pepys, Vol. IV, p. 509.

3. C. S. P., 1671; p. 489.

2. do Vol. VI, p. 220.

4. Pepys, Vol. VIII, p. 267.

is pretty stiff against their bringing in of men against his mind....particularly against Child's coming in, because he is a merchant."¹ Child was also a member of the London Council of Trade at this time, and this organization was especially distasteful to the Duke of York. One day a dispute arose between the Duke and some of his friends in regard to this. The Duke spoke slightly of Child and was seconded in his remarks by a Capt. Cox, who said that Child was known as an unfair dealer with masters of ships. Child had a supporter in Thomas Littleton, who hotly replied that he never heard anyone speak ill of Child. The same day the Duke of York, conversing with Pepys on the condition of the navy, stated particularly that he " would take care to keep out Child." (presumably out of office was meant)² Child continued victualler at least as late as 1672.

In April 1674, he was chosen one of the 24 " committees " of the London East India Company, and continued to be so chosen annually until his death (1699) except in 1676. His Majesty, Charles II, opposed his election as governor at this time, alleging that he had behaved ill toward him, and therefore " His Majesty would take it very ill of the Company if they should choose him. "³ In 1678 he had so far become reconciled with the king that he *was made* a baronet. In 1681 he was chosen governor of the East India Company, and from this time until his death his influence over

1. Pepys, Vol. VIII, p. 265. 3. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 113, Notes.

2. Pepys, Vol. VIII, pp. 300, 301, 302.

the Court of directors was almost paramount. He had already made his influence felt in the Company as a member of the committee for letters, of which committee he had been a member from the time when the court books record the members of the separate committees, at least as early as 1678.¹ In 1682, 1686, he was chosen governor, and in 1684 and 1685 deputy-governor.

Up to 1681 the London East India Company was essentially mercantile in character. No thought of empire had been even entertained. It is true that the Company had in its employ in India men of imperious dispositions, who could not endure the constant annoyances to which they were subjected by native chiefs and governors. If they ventured to oppose the exactions of these or remonstrated forcibly against their interference, they called down upon their heads a torrent of abuse from the Court in London. The directors continually urged that the agency of Fort St. George was only intended for the protection of goods and that the true safety of the factory depended not upon the strength of their fortifications, but upon the firmans and cowles² they might obtain from the princes of the country. But firmans and cowles counted very little when a native chief conceived the idea that the English factory was growing too rich or concealed vast hoaps of treasure within its walls. The governmental system in India was so complicated that even were the governor of the province satisfied, his superior might at any moment demand addition-

1. Hedges, Vol. II, pp. 113, 116.

2. Firmans and cowles were special grants of trade issued

al contributions, or require another firman. The factories of the Company, even those which had been established longest, were in no sense adequately fortified or garrisoned so that the English could defend themselves against any considerable native force. Even had they been thus fortified and secure they were the native merchants, the goods contracted for, and the markets from which they drew their current supplies, which lay open to every oppressor and ravager. When the English had erected costly dwellings and spacious ware-houses, had collected stores, had accumulated goods, and had given large credits among the merchants of the various provinces, their retreat appeared to be cut off. Without fortifications, behind which they could retreat in times of danger, lacking the prestige of occupation by conquest, they were naturally subjected to all the indignities that a handful of white men set down in the midst of an empire as large and as powerful as Europe, excluding Russia, might be expected to endure.

The situation on the western coast in 1680 and the years immediately preceding is typical of the state of affairs throughout India. Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor, ruled a turbulent people. Campaign followed campaign in rapid succession. Even his own son, Akbar, was to be found among his rebellious subjects. Among the most formidable of his enemies was a new power which had gradually risen in Western India, and which under the able leadership of one of the greatest of Indian

 by native princes or governors.

chieftains, Sivaji Rajah, threatened more by its example than by its territorial possessions the very existence of the ancient Mughal empire. Surat and Bombay were in the center of hostilities between the Mughal and Maratha chieftain, and again and again the fleets of the two powers sought a harbor in Bombay or occupied the islands at its entrance. It was exceedingly difficult for the English to remain absolutely neutral. To the north of Surat lay the Mughal possessions, directly south the Maratha. In 1680 Sivaji died and was succeeded by his son, Sambahji. The English hoped that he would be more steady in his politics, and better disposed toward the trade of the Company. In October of this year, Aurangzeb suddenly levied a heavy contribution on Surat. On the refusal of the English to comply with his demands, an order arrived to reestablish the duty of three and one half percent customs, instead of two and one half. The English with the Dutch and French offered the governor of the city a present of 30,000 rupees, provided the former rate (two and one half) be allowed to continue. The rebellion of Akbar broke off all negotiations and no subsequent despatches show that a grant of this sort was obtained.² This, however, is only a single illustration of what befell the English again and again, both here and elsewhere. They had to buy off first one native and then another, that chief or governor whose possessions lay nearest or who happened to be the most powerful and best able to en-

-----1. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 455.-----

2. do. p. 456.

force his demands.

But the English were not the only Europeans in India. There were the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French. The power of the first of these had been gradually dying out, but they still made themselves felt on the western coast with Goa as the seat of their authority. The Dutch were by far the most powerful European nation in the East. Between the English and Dutch there existed an inveterate commercial rivalry, which had more than once resulted in bloodshed. The islands of Java, Borneo, and Sumatra were the seat of their power. The two powers came in contact again and again, as each strove to get control of the pepper trade, or the trade to the farther East, or whenever the war clouds hovered over Europe. The Dutch method of trade differed essentially from that of the English. They were a nation trading in the East. Their factories were well fortified and garrisoned, their ships well protected, their monopoly of trade jealously guarded. As for the French, they had not yet made themselves felt very much. As one of the servants of the London Company in Bombay wrote (1677), " Little of prosperity hath the French Company experimented, which their king expressed in the motto he gave them to put on their arms, FLOREBO QUOCUMQUE FERRAR. "¹

The London East India Company had still another dif-

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 327.

difficulty to face. Elizabeth had given the Company exclusive privileges of trade to India, and these privileges had been renewed from time to time under her successors. This fact had aroused jealousy in England. There was some question, too, of the legality of monopolies, whether the king had a right to grant to any body of merchants exclusive privileges of trade. This dispute dated from the very foundation of the Company. In 1680 and even before there came into existence a class of men known as interlopers. These were often men who had been discharged from the employ of the Company for some misconduct or other, or those who saw with envy the growing wealth of the Company, and wished to obtain a share of the gain in the East, without going to the trouble of supporting factories and establishments in India. They believed that they had just as good a right to trade with India as individuals, as the members of an incorporated body of merchants. As the Company grew in wealth, it grew in disfavor. From 1680 these adventurers increased in number, and became more injurious to the trade of the Company. They made their way to the native courts, besought and obtained firmans, and lowered very much the prestige of the English in the country. The Company, therefore, had to take some sort of effective measures against them, and opposition to interlopers came to be recognized as a regular part of their policy.

That the Company was already making itself felt as

a great power in England, is evident from the various attacks made upon its organization, officers, and methods. In 1677 a semi-official announcement of the condition of the Company stated that it employed from 30 to 35 ships of from 300 to 600 Tons, that the exports between 1674 and 1675 amounted to 320,000 l. in bullion, and 110,000 in cloth and other goods. Its imports, consisting of calicoes, pepper, saltpetre, indigo, raw silk, wrought silk, and drugs sold for 880,000 l. Its stock had risen to 245¹. In a treatise published in 1681, presumably from the pen of Sir Josiah Child, it is stated that in 1680 the Company sent out for the Coromandel Coast and Bengal, 4 three decked ships, one of 530 Tons, 118 men, one of 600 Tons, 120 men, one of 550 Tons, 110 men; for Surat, three of about 500 Tons each; for Bantam, 2 of 600 Tons each; for the South Seas and China 2 of about 400 Tons each. According to this same authority the Company consisted of 556 partners, its customs duties amounted to 60,000 l. a year, and its imports to 60,000 or 70,000 l.² This same year (1680) the silk weavers of London protested strongly against the importation of East India silks, Bengals, etc. Mr. Pollexfen, in a speech to the House of Commons against the Company, stated that the consumption of East India manufactured goods, including printed and painted calicoes, was 300,000 l. a year, and the Company's export in bullion, 200,000 to 300,000 l. He admitted the en-

1. Macpherson, Vol. II, pp. 584ff. 2. Macpherson, do., p. 597.

largement of their trade, saying that it had now increased to near one fourth of the whole trade of the nation. He opposed, however, their plan of taking up 600,000 to 700,000 on their common seas, rather than enlarging the capital stock, thereby reaping to themselves not only the gains which they made on their own money, but likewise of the treasure of the nation, allowing to lenders but 4 or 5%, and dividing amongst themselves what they pleased, which within the last months was said to be 90%. Their stock was said to be so engrossed that ten or twelve men had the absolute management, and that forty divided the major part of the gains, which in 1679 were to one man 20,000 l., and to others 10,000 apiece.¹ From other sources we learn that the trade with Bengal had steadily increased. In 1674-5 the investment was 65,000 l., in 1680-1, 150,000, over double the amount. An efficient system of pilotage had been instituted at the dangerous mouth of the Hugli, and skillful dyers had been sent out. Saltpetre was a great source of revenue from Bengal, and it had become so necessary in the manufacture of gun-powder that Macaulay states that "but for the supplies from India it was said that the English government would be unable to equip a fleet without digging up the cellars of London, in order to collect the nitrous particles from the walls."²

The feeling against the Company can perhaps be

¹: Macpherson, Vol. II, pp. 597-8.

better understood from the statements of the English Levant or Turkey Company, who in 1681 made a formal protest against the quantity of silk imported from India by the London East India Company. The Company was accused of sending weavers to India to the impoverishment of the working classes, of not allowing new subscribers to come in on the death of old subscribers. Of the 550 merchants, only one fifth were said to be actual merchants, and as the real merchants were always of the committee, many of the choicest goods were sent home on their private account, seldom on the joint stock account. The present stock was too scanty; new subscribers would bring in more merchants, more money, more ships, more mariners. Trade with Persia, Japan, Arrachan, Achen, Sumatra, Pegu and Madagascar was neglected. The lenders of so large a stock as 600,000 l. at 3% hazarded their principal and there was no risk to the Company, as there was only the common seal to deal with, no one man was responsible.¹

Notwithstanding the apparent gains of the Company, and the value of its imports, on account of the difficulties of maintaining subagencies in the country, the risks incurred in conveying goods to and from India, and the unsettled condition of affairs in Europe, as the season of 1680-1 opened, it found no presidencies in India whatsoever. It had been found necessary to cut down expenses as much as possible. The salary of the chief agent at Surat was reduced

1. Macpherson, Vol. II, pp. 600-606.

to 300 l., the second in council to 80 l., and so on down to the lowest member, who received but 40 l. Bruce states that these variations in the amount of equipment and stock arose from doubts being entertained of the permanency of the peace between England and the Maritime Powers of Europe trading to the East Indies, or from the irresolution of particular directors, leaning to a limited trade, and the more public spirit of other directors favoring a more extended commerce!¹

Such was the state of affairs when Sir Josian Child became governor for the first time. (1681) But even before his governorship there can be no doubt that the influence exerted by him as chairman of the committee for letters shaped to a great extent the policy of the Company. His letters, while laying weight upon the importance of the Company's trade, have an imperious tone, are no longer weak protests that the English were in India merely to trade and nothing more. It is evident that a new force has entered the Company; new ideas come into prominence. Implicit obedience is exacted from the servants of the London East India Company, and the board of directors refuses to listen to their protests of inability to carry out orders. Child was thoroughly a man of business. " As a man of business, he had few equals." In a letter to Fort St. George, under date of 3 Jan. 1676, the Court wrote, " That letter of the 26th of Jan. 1677, subscribed by the quondam agent and council, although

¹ Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 433-434.

it be voluminous in words and haughty, vain and unmannerly expressions, such as it becomes not any of you to subscribe, or us to receive, yet is so empty of substantial matter relating to our business that we find very few particulars in it that need or deserve our answer. We must note to you that it is very strange that severally in your particular letters to us as private persons you should write us with so much deference, as we neither desire nor expect, and yet to the Court in general should address yourself in such an affronting and unmerchutable style, as becomes not any man of breeding to write to his equal.....No man living in our service, whatever he be, shall write to us such kind of language with impunity. " ¹ And again the Court of directors write in the same tone to Bengal." We have too much reason to believe that there are many persons in our service which are loose, ignorant, idle, and debauched, none of which qualities we will endure in any, and therefore have sent you the greater supplies that rooting out such weeds, you (may) set better plants in their room. ² Sir Josiah Child advised the governor and council at St. Helena not to have " their heads troubled with nice points of the common law of England, but rather on considering the reason of things to adjudge of all cases in a summary way, according to equity and a good conscience, without tedious delays, or countenancing litigations." ³

1. Hedges, Vol. II, pp. 115-6

3. Grant, Hist., pp. 106-7.

2. do.

p. 117.

As early as 1673 Sir Josiah was a man of wealth and influence. This year he purchased the elegant estate of Wanstead, and went to great expense in improving it. In 1683 a contemporary writes, "He from a merchant's apprentice and management of the East India stock, being ~~arrived~~ to an estate ('tis said) of 200,000 l. ; and lately married his daughter to the eldest son of the Duke of Beaufort, late Marquis of Worcester, with 50,000 l. portional present and various expectations.¹" That he stood high with the Court may be inferred from this alliance, as well as from the fact that this same year (13, Oct. 1681) he was one of a deputation from the Company who waited on His Majesty, James III and presented him with 10,000 guineas, " which he was pleased to accept ². The treasures of the East India Company were at his disposal, as all the papers were kept at Wanstead House.

Josiah Child appeared in the House ^{of Commons} in 1673 as Josiah Child, Merchant, representing Dartmouth. He was not reelected in 1678. He appeared again ^{as M.P.} for Ludlow, Co. Salopshire, in 1685.

1. Evelyn, Vol. II, p. 173.

2. Luttrell, Vol. I, p. 135.

CHAPTER III.

POLICY OF SIR JOSIAH CHILD—HIS ECONOMIC WRITINGS
AND SUPPORT OF THE COMPANY'S MONOPOLY—WAR AGAINST INTER-
LOPERS—EXTENSION OF THE COMPANY'S TRADE—DESIRE FOR EM-
PIRE.

There is another side of Sir Josiah Child's career which bears directly upon his labors in the London East India Company, i. e. his work as a writer on economics. It is here that he gives utterance to many of the ideas which became a part of his practice as chairman of the Court of Directors. His writings bear directly upon the subject of trade. The most important of them, the DISCOURSE ON TRADE, was written long before he became connected with the Company. This gives a glimpse of his ideas on the management and advantages of trade, before he came to be

so intimately connected with the Company as to be prejudiced in its favor. Besides the DISCOURSE ON TRADE, which he said he wrote at his country house in the sickness year (1665) he also wrote in 1681 under the signature of Philopatris, A TREATISE WHEREIN IS DEMONSTRATED THAT THE EAST INDIA TRADE IS THE MOST NATIONAL OF ALL FOREIGN TRADES.

The DISCOURSE ON TRADE is divided into sections or chapters, dealing with a variety of subjects, among which are trade in general, interest, the relief and employment of the poor, companies of merchants, the Act of Navigation, the advisability of creating a court merchant, naturalization of strangers, wool and woollen manufactures, the balance of trade, etc.

In his preface he endeavors first of all to answer the arguments brought forward by a certain Thomas Dunley against the abatement of interest, a treatise which came out just after Child had written his argument in favor of a low rate of interest. Among the arguments brought forward against the present high rate of interest are the allegations that usury (as he terms it) makes lands of wild and low esteem, prevents their cultivation and improvement, hinders the growth of trade, discourages navigation, industry, arts, and invention.¹ He cites the Dutch as an example of a nation who have prospered under a low rate of interest, and advan-

1. Child, Trade, Preface, p. ix.

ces as one of the proofs of their prosperity the fact that they pay higher wages. He lays down as an axiom that high wages indicate the riches of a country and vice versa.¹ This is manifestly contrary to the accepted principles of political economy.

After he has answered all the points not included in his Division dealing with interest, he turns to the state of trade in England. He cites several important trades, such as the Russian, Greenland, and East Country, which the Dutch have practically monopolized, and declares that the Dutch interest of 3% and narrow limited companies in England have beat the English out of these important trades. It was not only the Dutch arms and sleights, but their lower interest, which "gave strength to their arms and assistance to their invention,"² that caused the East India trade in 1600, to be cloven and made to fall into their hands to the exclusion of the English. The whole tone of this part of his preface is in favor of an expansion of England's commercial empire. Of the trade to the farther East, i. e. to China and Japan, he very justly remarks, "these trades are not to be contained out by long process and great expences, but constitute of present but with expectation of future gains."³

His favorite point throughout the whole preface is to show how closely the rate of interest, trade and wealth

1. Child, Trade, Preface, p. x.

2. do p. xvi.

3. do p. xvi.

of a country are bound together; the two last mentioned depending on the first. As a proof of this, he endeavors to show that ever since the rate of interest began to be lowered the country has increased in prosperity. As proofs of England's advance in material prosperity, he cites the increase in apprentices' wages, in the value of houses, and in shipping.

His appeal to the reader is significant as showing his attitude toward his subject. He asks him to read with love of country uppermost, to read all before passing judgment, and finally to distinguish between the profit of the merchant and the profit of the kingdom.¹ His concluding sentences create an air of patriotism and of far-sighted statesmanship which are significant for the age in which he lived. He seems to have peered to the future and caught a glimpse of England's future supremacy of the sea. "It is evident that this kingdom is wonderfully fitted by the bounty of God Almighty for a great progression in wealth and power. The only means to arrive at both or either of them, is to improve and advance trade: and that the way to these improvements is not hedged up with thorns nor hidden from us in the dark or intriqued with difficulties, but very natural and facile, if we would set about them, and begin the right way, casting off some of our old mistaken principles in trade which

1. Child, Discourse, Preface, pp. xvii.-xviii

we inherit from our ancestors, we were soldiers, huntsmen, and herdsmen, and therefore necessarily unskilled in the mysteries of and methods to improve trade....Trade is not yet advanced to one fifth part of the improvement that this land is capable of, and I think no true Englishman will deny that the season cries aloud to us to be up and doing before our fields become unoccupied, and before the Dutch get **too** much the whip hand of us.¹....I have adventured to expose my conceptions to public censure, with this confidence, that after these principles have suffered the accustomed persecution of tongues and pens, naturally and constantly accompanying all new proposals for a while, they will at length the most, if not all of them; or something very like them, come to be generally received and honored with the public sanction by being passed into laws; concerning the time whereof I am not careful, but for my country's sake, I could wish it might be shortened.²"

his chapter on trade is based upon a study and comparison of the Dutch laws and methods of conducting trade. He praises their plan of allowing trading merchants to participate in the greatest councils of state and war, possessing thereby well admirably fitted to deal with all questions affecting the welfare of the nation, of which the most im-

1. Child, Discourse, Preface, p. xxviii.

2. do p. xvix.

portant (in his mind) is trade. He was for introducing some of their customs, such as the law of gavel kind, i. e. distributing the estate of the father equally among his children, and the transference of all bills of private debts, which Macpherson declares to be unsuited to the " genius, laws and constitution of Britain." ¹ He brings forward as the chief reason for their success in trade their low rate of interest, and designates this as the CAUSA CASSANA. ² To know whether any country be rich or poor, or in what proportion it is so, no other question needs to be resolved, but this, viz. what interest do they pay for money? ³ He lays much emphasis upon the mercantile training of the Dutch as a reason for their success, and seems thereby to disregard the national differences between the Dutchman and Englishman of the time. The former were cold narrow traders, merchants by birth as well as by training. That they were successful in trade for a time, there can be no doubt, but their means and methods were not destined to stand the test of time.

He praised the Act of Navigation, and declared that it occasioned the building and employing of three times the number of ships and seamen, that " otherwise we should have or would do." ⁴ This could not fail to increase the naval power and wealth of the nation. In the course of

1. Macpherson, Vol. II, p. 544. 4. Child, Discourse, p. 87.

2. Child, Discourse, p. 5.

3. do p. 9.

his discussion of the faults alleged against this law, he emphatically declares that, "What is fit for one nation to do in relation to their trade is not fit for all,"¹ and shows himself to be no servile imitator of Dutch methods. He regarded the Dutch rather as a great model, whose methods were to be copied where they were seen to be advantageous for English trade. It was natural that he should choose them, as it was the period of their greatest activity and success in trade, and they were the leaders of Europe in commercial enterprise.

There is still another part of his treatise which bears directly upon his subsequent policy as Chairman of Company, i. e. that portion dealing with companies of merchants. He asks the question fairly if the incorporation of merchants is for the public good, and answers it in the affirmative in the case of trade with countries with which England "has no alliance nor can have any by reason of their distance, barbarity, or non-communication with the princes of Christendom, where there is a necessity of maintaining forces and forts."² but admittance unto such a company must be easy. If the fine exceed ten pounds it is too much. Sir Josiah Child thoroughly believed that the Company's monopoly was just and right, and that it was the only means of conducting such a trade as the trade to India.

1. Child, Trade, p. 86.

2. do pp. 77-78.

It is interesting to compare Adam Smith's statements with regard to this method of conducting trade. "When a company of merchants undertake to establish a new trade with some remote or barbarous nation, it may not be unreasonable to incorporate them in a joint stock company, and to grant them in case of success a monopoly of the trade for a certain number of years. It is the easiest and most natural way in which a state can recompense them for hazarding a dangerous and expensive experiment, of which the public is afterwards to reap the benefit. but upon the expiration of the term, the monopoly must certainly determine." "McCulloch says; 'When, owing to the disinclination or inability of a government to afford protection to those engaged in any particular department of trade, they are obliged to provide for their own defense and security, it is obviously necessary that they should have the power to exclude such individuals as may refuse to submit to their measures, or to bear their due share of the expense required for the common protection of all.'"²

As to the importance of the East India trade, Sir Josiah Child supposes it to be far from difficult to prove it to be the most beneficial trade which England at that time carried on. He brings forward as proofs of this the large number of ships and seamen employed, the

1. Wealth of Nations, Vol. III, p. 256.

2. McCulloch, pp. 377-78.

vast quantities of pepper, indigo, calicoes, etc., which the English are able to obtain at a lower rate than they could purchase them from the Dutch. Saltpetre had come to be such a necessity in the manufacture of gun powder, that this alone would cost a vast sum annually to purchase from the Dutch. He reverts to the very reasons which prompted the establishment of the Company in 1300, in his defense of its existence and benefits. His treatise dealing with this trade in particular probably originated in the attacks made upon the Company by rival corporations and private individuals.

The rest of his writings i. e. his ideas on the employment of the poor, woolen manufactures, etc., show him to be a man of good sense, and of sound commercial principles. Many of his ideas are far in advance of his time; others are contrary to the political economy of today, but political economy was then in its inception, almost an unknown science. It is in the ideas which he sets forth in his writings that one sees the beginning of those lines of policy which he carried out with all the force of his energetic character. The keynot of his high purpose is sounded in the following, "He that will faithfully serve his country must be content to pass through good and evil report, neither regard I which I meet with. Truth

The substance of this treatise, which has come down to us can be found in Macpherson, Vol. II, p. 597, also on p. 13.

of this work.

I am sure at last will vindicate itself and be found by my countrymen. It is well to bear these utterances in mind in studying his career in connection with the Company, and not judge too harshly his attempts to enlarge its field of operations. As time passes over a man's head his views change, but many of these ideas will be seen to be the motives which actuated Sir Josiah Child in a great deal of his work.

Child's policy, embracing control of the Company, embraced no less than six points: (1) to attempt the widest possible extension of trade in Asia, (2) to put down all Interlopers and Interlopers whatsoever, (3) to set down all private trade with England on the part of the Company's servants in any of the articles which the Company chose to reserve to itself, (4) to establish a strict obedience on the part of the Company's servants in Asia to all orders whatsoever as regarded trade or private administration which might be transmitted from home, (5) to raise such a revenue from the native inhabitants of the Company's settlements as should defray the charges of the fortification and garrison, (6) retaliation by force of arms on the Indian princes who had oppressed the Company's settlements, and a daring attempt at the attainment of political strength and dominion in the East. The most impor-

1. Child, *Travels*, p. xiv.

tant of these points were the extension of the Company's trade, his support of the Company's monopoly, and his tendency towards building up an empire. The other points depended upon, or followed out of these, growing out of the need for defence in India.

One of the accusations brought against the London Company in 1681 by the Turkish or Levant Company was their neglect of the trade to Persia, Arabia, and the farther East, i. e. to China, Japan, Siam and the Spice Islands. But with the coming in of Sir Josiah Child as governor, the Company became more active in this branch of their trade. Every effort was made to include as much of the Asiatic world as possible in their commercial empire. Factories were established in parts of the East hitherto unknown to the merchants of the London Company. If a factory in one port met with disaster at the hands of the natives, or rival Europeans, the Company did not abandon their attempts to trade with that country, but speedily opened negotiations with a neighboring city for privileges of trade. Throughout the Child Period the enemies of the London East India Company could not justly accuse them of lack of energy in availing themselves of the full privileges of their charter. The trade to these countries could not have been very profitable during the period on account of the difficulties encountered, but the foundations were laid of a

trade which was destined to be the most profitable and enduring of all the trades to the East, viz. the tea trade.

The earliest attempt on the part of the Company to trade with China was in 1618. With Japan as a base of operations, an unsuccessful attempt was made to establish a trade with China and Cochin China. Every attempt at trade failed through the hostility of the Dutch and Portuguese. No regular communication was established until 1672. This year a factory was established at Tonquin in Cochin China, which was continued until 1697, but trade does not appear to have been very satisfactory. In November of this year the factory was dissolved and the agents left the country. In 1670-80 the Company sent out orders to their factory at Canton "to establish a trade at Amoy, from its being a port belonging to a great empire in which British cloths and other produce might find a sale, and from which communications might be opened with Japan."¹ 1680 is the first time we find mention of the Company sending a ship to China proper. But from this time down to the end of the period, the Company devoted some part of their stock to carrying on a trade there, unless affairs in India or at home were in such a serious condition as to demand their entire attention.

In the season of 1680-1 950,000 was to be sent to

1. Bruce, Vol. II, p.440.

Amoy and the same amount to Tonquin. Although orders had been sent out the preceding season for the withdrawal of the factory from Tonquin, one more attempt was to be made to continue the trade, and a factor skillful at selecting silks was dispatched thither. An invitation from the viceroy of Canton for the establishment of a factory there had been received the preceding season, but on account of the unsettled condition of the country, it was deemed advisable to defer this until later. In 1681 news arrived of the destruction of the factory at Amoy by the Tartars. This circumstance caused the Company to abandon their proposed trade to the East Indies. The trade to this country for the next four years could not have been very profitable. The Company set with their departure after discouragement, but they persisted in their attempts to retain commercial communication. In 1682-3 the Portuguese and French interfered with their trade to Tonquin by instigating the native chiefs to exact money from the English factors, and avowed their own intention of getting possession of the market. In the following season the Portuguese, who had special advantages for controlling the China trade by their possession of the island of Macao, just off Canton, effectually prevented the English from getting any portion of the China trade by bribing the viceroy of Canton with 10,000 pounds to ex-

clude all other nations from trade at that port.

But the following season the Company were planning another attempt at trade. In 1685 one ship was dispatched from Surat to endeavor to resettle the factory at Amoy. In 1686 Sir John Child recommended that the trade to China be placed under Fort St. George. Up to 1681 the trade to the farther East had been under Bantam, but the loss of this port in 1682 caused the Company to place the management of this trade in the hands of the council at Surat. This year (1685) the intrigues of the Dutch interrupted trade. In 1686 the China trade was becoming more promising, and teas and spices had come to be such important articles of trade, that they were to become a part of the Company's imports, and not be articles of private trade as heretofore. In 1687 trade at Focquin was renewed, and the returns were to consist of lacquered ware and pelong silk. No accounts were received from China this season! From this time to the end of the period, the Company were too busily engaged in conducting their war with the Mughal Emperor to devote much of their attention to trade. The factories, however, must have continued, but investments suffered from the troublous state of India. In 1688 instead of charging a duty on the decoction made from the leaves of tea an excise duty of 5s per pound was laid on the tea itself.

1. These facts with regard to the China trade rest mainly upon the authority of Bruce.

This fact shows how important an article of trade it had come to be, even during these unsettled times.

The other important countries in the East were not neglected by the Board of Directors in London. Simultaneously with their instructions for carrying on a China trade ships and factors were sent to Japan, the Spice Islands, Siam, Arabia and Persia. As early as 1613 a certain Captain Saris had landed in Japan, and received permission to trade there. A factory was established at Firando, but ten years later (1623) the Presidency of Batavia" gave orders that the Japan factory should be dissolved, since it afforded neither profit nor expectation of profit, but was, on the other hand, only maintained at a serious loss.¹ No further attempts were made to open up trade until 1671. The Company applied, although ineffectually for permission to trade there. 1680 marks the next attempt to open up a trade. Instructions were sent out to connect the trade of China and Japan. In 1683, however, one small vessel with a cargo of coast goods and skins was to make another experiment for a trade with Japan, and letters were addressed by the Company to the Emperor and the governor of Nagasaki, praying permission to trade at that port. By this it would appear that no considerable trade with the islands had been carried on for some time past. In 1685 the records show.

1. Danvers, India Office Reports, p. 204.

another attempt at establishing trade, and a scheme for an indirect trade between Sumatra, China and Japan was proposed.¹

The trade of the Company with Persia, dating from 1612, was carried on during this period with as much persistence as the trades to China and Japan. In 1661 an internal trade between the gulfs was projected, but was found impracticable. The attempt, however, was indicative of the desire of the Company to carry out any expedition which suggested itself, as promising an increase of the commercial gains of the Company. A haughty attitude was assumed by the Court in 1682-3 toward the Shah of Persia. The servants of the Company were content to negotiate with the Shah over the arrears of customs, and then by ancient stipulations. A maritime force was to be equipped and a show of power made. This show of power, however, was not great enough to impress His Highness, but resulted in the depression of trade. That these projects were not carried out to the letter, however, is not surprising when one considers the distance and power of the nations involved, and the expense of carrying out such expeditions successfully. No company could endure such a drain upon its treasury unless its profits were something enormous. It is necessary to bear in mind that the Company was in its boyhood

1. Authorities the same as for China.

and had not yet come to be a great power in the East.

The first voyages of the English had been to the Spice Islands, and notwithstanding the firm foothold possessed by their rivals, the Dutch, in the South Seas, the Company endeavored to get some share of the trade from that neighborhood. A factory had been established at Bantam on the island of Java as early as 1601, and this had come to be the starting point for enterprises to China, Japan, and the far East. In 1632 a revolution broke out on the island which caused the withdrawal of the English from Bantam to Batavia, and finally (in 1637) to Java. This revolution was instigated by the Dutch, who drew the young King of Bantam into hostilities against his father, and the success of these enterprises placed the control of the island in the hands of the Dutch. This disaster was a great blow to the Company's plans for getting a share of the pepper trade, but especially to their projects for trade to the farther East. 1634, however, saw the commencement of a fortified warehouse at Bencoolen, on Sumatra, that they might preserve the much coveted pepper trade. The situation not proving advantageous, they removed the site two or three miles, and erected a new factory, which was called Fort Marlborough or Fort York. In 1683 the smaller vessels of the fleet of Sir John Wetmore, who had been sent out to attempt the recovery of Bantam, but whose or-

ders had been countermanded, were ordered to attempt the settlement of factories at Macassar on the island of Celebes, Jaore, on the Malay Peninsula, and in Peru and Siam. In 1624-5 communications with the islands of Ceram, Celebes, and Ternate were proposed. In 1625-6 a factory was established at Priaman, on Sumatra, which was made subordinate to the Presidency of Fort St. George. All these attempts could not have produced the results, as can be inferred from the silence of the Company's annals on that point. In 1626-7, simultaneously with their attempt to visit the Straits, the Company endeavored to establish its rights of trade with China. An agreement was to be concluded on the King by sending a vessel to negotiate for their charter. Hostilities had already broken out against the firm and before a resolution could be reached as to the expediency of the Company, from the Court.

Support of the Company's development was against the interlopers, a class of men who came into prominence about the time Child became receiver for the first time. Their existence was a proof of the profits to be made in the Eastern trade, and also of the growing power of the Company. And the interlopers confined themselves to an opposition purely mercantile, the Company needs not, perhaps after all to have attended their sanity, but they began to interfere at the courts of the princes of the East,

endeavoring to obtain firmans or grants of special privileges in trade, and doing everything in their power to undermine the prestige of the Company. This was a serious matter, and called for energetic measures. One of these interlopers, a Mr. Maunkon, often called Lord Phaulkon, obtained such an influence at the Siamese court that he practically destroyed the Company's commerce ¹together. That a course of strenuous opposition was justifiable, is confirmed by the testimony of the chief direct. officers and merchants on a trade of this character. "In one of the purely commercial concerns, trading upon a joint stock, has ever been able to withstand the competition of private adventurers: the principal subject of their agents they could not buy and sell commodities in distant countries to any effectual responsibility: and from this circumstance and the success that usually insinuates itself into every department of their management, no other company has ever succeeded, unless when it has obtained some exclusive privilege, or been protected from competition."²

The instructions to Fort St. George in 1681 were based on the schemes of the interlopers. The Company's agents were ordered to seize these traders, and offer the parties (master and purser excepted) payment of full wages and an exemption from all consequences, if they would

1. Bruce, vol. II, p. 540.

2. De Guillon, p. 377.

deliver up ships and cargoes. Agents in all parts of India were to be indemnified from all the consequences of seizing on interlopers and their effects. Any of the Company's servants who might encourage to a second their views were to be seized and sent to England. But this was not left wholly to the fidelity of their servants in India. The ships of Crisp and Pitt were seized in the Thames, prosecuted by the Attorney General and condemned. That no doubt might remain of the Company's right to take such coercive measures, both at home and abroad, a judicial process vesting them with authority for such proceedings were obtained from the King. Discretionary powers were given to the various Agents to spare no means in presents to the natives in order to prevent the interlopers obtaining protection. This was to be strict against interlopers, and to be liberal to the owner of St. John's was ensured for his reception of interlopers at that island. Should the interlopers touch at the island, a duty of 20% per ton was to be levied upon them.¹

On 19 Nov. 1731, Sir George Willoughby writes, "In the first place we have been informed in certain, but we are not sure if it be a certain fact, or if it be only in the report, we have been informed to hold our responsibility with the interlopers, and we shall be to send over with provision of biscuits, powder, and such like."

1. Frue, vol. II, pp. 407-8, 437-8, 470-1.

gistered, contrary not only to his trust, but the oath he took of a freeman before going to India seize all his books, papers and money effects that you can meet with, and send him and his books and papers home to us. ¹ This letter shows that the Court of Directors meant to enforce their regulations against all interloping or sympathy with the same on the part of the Company's servants, and also the jealousy with which they guarded their monopoly of trade in those articles which they chose to reserve to themselves. The summary punishment dealt out to Mr. J-B- was destined to be repeated again and again in the course of Sir Josiah Child's administration. The part played by ex-servants of the Company in illicit trade came to be very important. The most formidable interlopers were those who had forsaken the low pay of the Company, and had taken to trading on their private account.

That the Company carried out their powers to the fullest extent, is shown by the events of 1692, when an attempt was made to form a new company. Bruce says, " It is not improbable that the orders of King and Council against interlopers or individual merchants who had attempted to violate the Company's exclusive privileges had given rise to the speculation of participating in trade by forming a similar joint stock. ²"

1. Wheeler, Madras Records, p. 132.

2. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 475.

Many were the means employed during the next few years to suppress these troublesome English subjects in India. In 1682 the Directors recommended the establishment of a factory in the Cinque country, that by the "magnitude of their purchases" ¹ they might counteract the schemes of the interlopers. Intermarriage with them was forbidden. 13 Sept. 1682 the council at Madras were informed that an interloping ship had arrived in Tuticoyin Bay. They immediately sent two persons to see who it was, and to "impede and obstruct him in all ways possible."² They were also entrusted with a letter to the Dutch not to assist them, and were ordered to go on board, and endeavor to bribe the men to abandon their captain, if he refused to obey the king's proclamation which they carried with them. Child's activity both here and elsewhere is manifested in the records of the time. John Pettit, an ex-servant of the London Company and noted interloper, also bore testimony to this fact. "I know Child at home scatters the guineas there, as the other Child does the rupees here, and both to one purpose at least. I know some commanders bound out had private intimation not to leave the kingdom, but that was all, but what will this amount to? The "Crown" arrived at London and sold her goods to great advantage, and no man durst lay

1: Bruce, Vol. II, p. 491.

2: Wheeler, Madras Records, p. 132.

a finger on them, and till they find a trick to confiscate all interlopers' goods, they will find all their endeavors vanish into wind.¹

The interlopers were especially active on the western coast of India. A factory was established at Muscat as early as 1632 by one Say. In October another came to Goa, and three were bound for Bengal. Petit and Boucher, two of the Company's servants, were found to be implicated in the interloping schemes and were dismissed from service. They immediately made their way to the native governor of Surat and besought his protection. Although they were demanded by the Company, they managed to keep out of its clutches, and were joined by a considerable faction and obtained a firman from Aurangzeb for a separate trade.²

The apostasy of these men was also imitated in Bengal. Naylor was dismissed by Hedges in Bengal in 1683,³ and a strict inquiry was made into the relations of the other factors with interlopers. Hedges complained bitterly of the corruption to which the Company's servants had lent themselves, keeping company and feasting daily with interlopers, and taking parts of ships and trading with them. "If this grievance cannot be soon redressed as discovery is made of it, the Company's trade can never be carried on to their most advantage. Interlopers must be suppressed in England.

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 115.

3. Hedges, Vol. I, p. 89.

2. Orme, Fragments, p. 132.

'Tis impossible to be long here. I see they will daily grow upon us without effort."¹

On Aug. 9, 1685 the Company were authorized to exercise Admiralty Jurisdiction in Bombay. This act was aimed directly at interloping, to enable the Company to seize and confiscate their ships and goods. A judge from England was sent out to erect such a court. In 1684 an important case was tried before the King's Bench. Lord Chief Justice Pollexfen, summing up in the case of Sands, declared that the Statute of Edward III enacted that the seas should be open for all merchants to pass with their merchandize whereever they pleased, that all monopolies were against the common law, according to 21 Jac. I, c. 3, and finally that the grant of any sole trade was contrary to Magna Carta.² But it was decided that the Crown had a right to grant exclusive privileges, and that such a right had been repeatedly acquiesced in by parliament. The Court of Directors trusted that this decision would completely eradicate an evil against which they had struggled for so many years.

On the accession of James II (1685) the Court of Directors resolved to prosecute 48 interlopers before the court of King's Bench. James showed his good will by sending out a ship of war to seize all interlopers. This same year Jeffreys pronounced a decision in favor of the Company.

1. Hedges, Vol. I, p. 139.

2. Macpherson, Vol. II, pp. 613-4.

This is styled as a "connected and elaborate legal argument, respectable both for learning and for talent, although some of the grounds on which he relies seem singularly inefficient, there are others which would leave the question considered as a dry point of law in a state of ambiguity."¹

A code of martial law was to be enforced against the interlopers about Bombay and Surat. Apr. 12, 1686 James granted the Company a new charter which commenced as follows: "Whereas several persons have of late years presumed without license from the Company to send out ships and trade within their limits, perceiving the necessity of redressing disorders and improving trade to the utmost, satisfied that such a trade can only be carried on by joint stock ratifies all previous charters and grants."²

All the efforts of king, the Court of Directors, and their servants in India were unable to keep these adventurers in check. They continued to follow their illicit traffic with varying success. With every important episode in Indian affairs they were more or less connected. Their connection with an insurrection at Bombay, and their even greater influence in Bengal will appear later. Sir Josiah Child's attitude toward them continued to be that of bitter hostility, and is admirably expressed in a letter to Fort St. George, written toward the close of the Child period

1. Grant, History, p. 138.

2. Macpherson, Vol. II, p. 624.

(1689), " The interlopers and other maligners of the Company are very busy and pretend great matters they will do shortly by complaints of the Company's management, a lightness and vanity which they have always abounded in, especially upon every change of government or lesser changes of ministers of state or favorites. But their boastings have always come to naught, and so they will now, all governments being wiser than to be swayed by such irregular vain men, tho' they may sometimes seem to give them a little continuance for reasons not to be mentioned, as also for the enlargement of their own understandings in so abstruse an affair as that of the East Indies is to noblemen and gentlemen that have not been conversant in business of that nature."¹

The most significant part of Sir Josiah Child's policy in connection with India was his tendency toward the erection of an English power in the East. The significance of his work can be realized in a measure after examining the policies of his real successors, Clive and Hastings. In his attempt to carry out this policy he was far in advance of his time. Child realized what none of the Company's servants were wise enough to foresee until the appearance of Robert Clive, viz. the ultimate domination of India by the English. It was evident to his broad and far seeing intellect that the English could not trade successfully in the East unless they were better protected from the natives with whom they came in contact. If the London

1: Hedges, Vol. II, p. 118.

East India Company was to prosper, it could not bow down to every prince who happened to cross its path, nor could it contribute vast sums from its treasury to satisfy his caprice. Without a strong political footing in the East, the Company were simply a number of speculators, now making huge profits, now seeing the gains of years swallowed up by some revolution in Indian politics, utterly powerless to stem the current of affairs. It was the establishment of political power and prestige in the East which had placed the Dutch at the head of the Europeans trading there. Sir Josiah Child realized this, and again and again reverted to their policy in justifying his own course of conduct. In endeavoring to carry out lines of policy which he felt to be absolutely necessary, Sir Josiah Child called down upon his head a torrent of abuse from all sides. Had he been successful, this might not have been the case, but the *polloi* of any age are only too ready to throw mud at a man who, in carrying out ideas not common to his time, but evincing far reaching statesmanship, through lack of cooperation, or simply because he is too far in advance of his time, is finally forced to acknowledge defeat, although not through any lack of effort on his part.

It is necessary to remember that at the commencement of this period the London East India Company possessed but two patches of territory in India, comprising at the

most 10 sq. mi., the island of Bombay and the peice of ground on which Fort St. George stood. The question that confronted Sir Josiah Child, believing in the necessity of strengthening English prestige in the country was how to bring about this result. His policy was a close imitation of Dutch methods, and consisted of an attempt to strengthen existing settlements by adequate fortifications and garrisons, to make the settlements defray the charges of these by a system of revenues exacted from the natives whom they protected, and lastly to exact strict obedience from the servants of the Company in India who must be entrusted with the management of the scheme. He sounds the keynote of his policy in the following to Fort St. George: " That which we promise ourselves from our new president and council is that they will establish such a polity of civil and military power and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain both at that place as may be the foundation of a large, well grounded, sure English dominion in India FOR ALL TIME TO COME."¹

By means of these fortifications and garrisons the Company were not only to maintain themselves against any further encroachment on the part of native governors or princes, but as soon as they were in a posture of defense they were to retaliate upon the natives who had taken ad-

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 117.

vantage of their former weakness. As early as 1683, Sir Josiah Child wrote to Madras, " We would have you strengthen and fortify our town by degrees that it may be terrible against the assault of any Indian prince, and the Dutch power, if we should happen to have any difference with them hereafter. ¹ In 1687, when Aurangzeb and the Sultan of Golconda were waging war against each other, Child defined the relations of the English with their neighbor to be as follows: " As for the king of Golconda, we own him for our good friend, ally and confederate and sovereign of all that country, excepting the small territory belonging to Madras, of which we claim the sovereignty and will maintain and defend against all persons, and govern by our own laws without any appeal to any prince or potentate whatsoever except our Sovereign Lord, the King. If ever he break with you we require you to defend yourselves by arms, and from that time renounce paying him any more tribute; it being strange to us that while he is oppressed by the Mughal on the one hand, and by a poor handful of Dutchmen on the other, you should make yourselves so timorous and fearful of asserting our own king's just right and prerogative to that important place. ² Reinforcements were sent out to Bombay on the western coast as early as the season of 1680-1, and the Company's

1. Wheeler, Madras Records, p. 129.

2. do pp. 165-6.

servants were instructed to see to it that its fortifications were adequate for the protection of the Company's goods and servants.

Sir Josiah Child was the first man in England who appeared to have formed a just conception of what ought to be the relations between the English and natives. One of the most significant details of his policy is expressed in the following: " We send you herewith this ... the Dutch relation of their conquest of Macassar, that you may observe with how few forces of their own with the help of Burgesses they accomplished that great exploit, and learn from them how to serve your country by means of natives.¹ " In this can be seen the beginnings of that English policy which enabled them later to secure and maintain their hold upon the Indian Empire, i. e. their use of native soldiers commanded by English officers.

As early as Sept. 20, 1682 Sir Josiah Child wrote to Madras, " Our meaning as to the revenue of the town is that one way or another, by Dutch, Portuguese, or Indian methods it should be brought to defray at least the whole constant charge of the place which is essential to all governments in the world. People protected ought in all parts of the universe in some way or other to defray the charge of their protection and preservation from wrong and vio-

1. Hedges, Vol. II, pp. 117-8.

lence.¹ This order for the establishment of a system of taxes was repeated again and again. Gyfford was at that time the governor, and was known as "our too easy agent". He expostulated with the Court of Directors in London, endeavoring to show how difficult it would be to enforce any such system. In 1684 positive orders were sent out for raising a "contribution", but were not enforced until 1686. This delay was occasioned partly by the time required in transmitting the orders, and partly by the hesitation of the Company's servants in carrying out instructions. The result was a strike on the part of the natives employed by the Company and a closing of the shops. The servants of the Company, however, had been inspired with sufficient courage by the decided stand taken by their employers in London, and a proclamation was issued that if the heads or chiefs of the castes did not submit before sunset, their houses would be pulled down, the ground on which they were built would be sold, and they and their families banished from the town forever. The result of this decided action justified Child's positive orders. The chiefs submitted.² Child had understood the native character better than Gyfford. This so-called contribution was evidently not the beginning of a regular revenue system. As late as June 9, 1686 Child wrote to Madras, "This pro and con between us and you

1. Wheeler, Madras Records, pp. 137-8

2. do p. 151.

.... Let us have no more of it ... A revenue we will have aliquo modo for that infinite charge we have been at to raise that town from so despicable a condition as it was when we settled there. With your leave we will have a ground rent and a small poll money for every head, as the Dutch have at Batavia.¹ Similar measures for the collection of revenues at Bombay were enacted and sent out to their servants. These measures were carried out with less opposition but perhaps with less thoroughness.

As a part of this phase of policy is also to be noted Child's attempt to incorporate Madras on the basis of an English city. This was the great domestic event in the governorship of Elihu Yale. It is a curious coincidence not without its significance that about 1661 a similar plan was laid before the Madras government by the Sanitary Reform Committee in this presidency. The idea of municipal government was not borrowed directly from English institutions, but was originally taken from the Dutch government in the East. Child himself explains his purpose in the following: " Our design in the whole is to set up the Dutch government among the English in the Indies (than which a better cannot be invented) for the good of posterity and to put us upon an equal footing of power with them, to offend or defend or enlarge the English dominion and unite

1. Wheeler, Madras Records, p. 157.

the strength of our nation under one entire and absolute command subject to us; as we are and ever shall be most dutifully to our own sovereign. ¹ March 12, 1687 Child waited on His Majesty James II, and obtained a charter for the incorporation of Madras, and in September 1688 the corporation was fairly established.

Child's personal relations with the servants of the Company in India did much to further the interests of the London East India Company. It is a curious coincidence that during this period the Company possessed so many strong energetic characters in India, such a galaxy as appeared neither before nor after, not until the Clive Period. It would seem as if he infused a new life, a new spirit into the Company. He exacted strict obedience to all orders, and the servants of the Company in India knew the penalties of disobedience. From taking a firm stand as the result of orders to that effect, many of the Company's servants went beyond duty and became men of action after Child's own heart. The Company lost an able servant in Streyntsham Master but Child would not retain any servant who would not obey his orders, even though they were often overbearing and insulting. Child describes him as following a strain of errors, pride and offence. He was a man of the Child type, but " in an evil hour he engaged in an unequal combat with

1. Wheeler, Madras Records, pp. 203-4.

his superior, and he fell the victim of a pride which has ruined thousands.¹ "Excessive drinking, swearing, cursing, and contempt of government were unpardonable sins in the Company's service. Child felt that insulting overbearing letters were necessary to get the agents out of their old forms and cavilling way of writing, perverting, misconstruing, procrastinating,~~oo~~ neglecting plain and direct orders. It was such faults as these which caused him to make change after change in the personnel of the various councils. In 1687 he wrote that he hoped that there would be no need of such changes hereafter, but that "your well understanding and performance of our orders will cause us to change the style of our letters to you as we hoped to have done before this, for which we more earnestly desire a fit occasion than you can yourselves."²

The type of man which pleased Sir Josiah Child is described at some length in his reasons for the advancement of Mr. Higginson to be second in council at Fort St. George in 1687. Mr. Higginson was the kind of a servant whom Child delighted to honor with positions of trust and responsibility. Child's experience had taught him that only a man of learning, well read in the history of the Greeks and Romans, "with a good stock of natural parts"³ was fitted for government. "It is not being bred a boy in India,

1. Wheeler, Madras Records, p. 126. E. Wheeler, Madras, p. 195.

2. do p. 196.

or studying long there and speaking the language, and understanding critically the trade of the place¹" which fitted a man for such a post as the second in council at Fort St. George, although he would not belittle such qualifications so far as conducting trade was concerned. But the case was altered. The Company was no longer a mere trading company, but was formed "into the condition of a sovereign state in India, that we may offend or defend ourselves and punish all that injure us in India as the Dutch do."¹

Child's tendency toward the erection of an ENGLISH DOMINION IN INDIA FOR ALL TIME TO COME appeared throughout the whole course of events in India, the details of which will appear as the history of the period is narrated.

1: Wheeler, Madras Records, pp. 105-6.

CHAPTER IV.

SIR JOHN CHILD APPOINTED IN INDIA (1681) TO CARRY OUT HIS BROTHER'S ORDERS-DIFFERENT VIEWS OF HIS CHARACTER-EARLY YEARS OF THE PRESIDENCY AT SURAT-REBELLION AT BOMBAY.

In 1681 Surat was restored to the rank of a presidency, and John Child, the former agent, was raised to the rank of president. John Child was a brother of Sir Josiah, the governor of the London East India Company, and there can be no doubt but that his appointment was the result of his brother's paramount influence over the Court of Directors. This fact is further attested by the tacit understanding existing between the two brothers in carrying out their subsequent lines of policy. The enemies of the Company

recognized the close relations existing between the two men and blamed one as much as the other for their apparent arbitrary conduct.

Of John Child's career previous to his appointment as agent at Surat, little is known. He appears to have been sent out to India before he was ten years old, and to have spent the following eight years at Rajapur under an uncle named Goodshaw who was the head of the Company's factory there. Child is said to have subsequently been instrumental in procuring the dismissal of his uncle from his post for dishonesty and to have succeeded him as superintendent of the factory at the age of twenty four. Rajapur was subordinate to Surat, and it was natural that the next promotion result in his appointment as agent there¹ (1680)

John Child was probably an inferior man to his brother, Sir Josiah. He had spent his whole life in India, and was, therefore, little acquainted with the world outside. He seems to have inherited that Child spirit which characterized the whole career of his brother, and showed himself an able exponent of his brother's ideas in India. He could supply what his brother lacked, viz. a wide knowledge of native affairs. John resided in India, his brother in London, and it was natural that he be chosen to make a practical test of Sir Josiah's theories of government.

1: Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. X, p. 243.

The two brothers formed, as it were, a coalition which shook Indian politics to their very foundations.

Different views of John Child's character have been entertained by the writers who have dealt with this period. Bruce, the Company's annalist, naturally represents both brothers as acting from the best of motives, with an eye single to the Company's good. "The precautions and public principles on which Sir John Child acted under critical circumstances discover a high sense of duty and provident concern for the interests of the Company.¹" The enemies of the Company, notably the interlopers, of whom Hamilton is one of the ablest representatives, accused Child of almost every crime on the calendar. Hamilton has a good word to say for all of Child's predecessors in office, but can find no redeeming quality in John Child. "After Governor Child had gotten the reins of government again into his hands, he became more insupportable than ever.²" It was natural that this noted interloper should take this attitude as it was under the Child administration that he and his associates were so actively persecuted. Raynal, following Hamilton styles Child as "avaricious, turbulent, and savage." Anderson writes, "Sir John was really anxious to promote the Company's interests, and as their policy was unprincipled, he was quite ready to make it his ...

1. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 576.

2. Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 190.

He was a deceiver and oppressor for their sakes His system of administration was essentially dishonest.¹ "

John Child, assisted by a council of eight, was to manage affairs on the western coast of India with his headquarters at Surat. The second in council was to have charge of the Persian trade, and one of the other members, who was to be appointed at the discretion of the President, was to be Deputy-Governor of Bombay. Accompanying these instructions the Court of Directors ordered the reestablishment of the factory at Karwar, and were ready to establish factories at ports where English trade had not yet been introduced. This attempt was made to obviate a prejudice against the Company of recent origin, viz. that the Company were not carrying out the widest possible extension of trade in accordance with the stipulations of their charters. This same year the Court of Directors sent out instructions to Surat to establish a circuit of exchanges between the gulfs of Arabia and Persia. This, too, was done with the hope of increasing trade, but the results of this attempt were inconsiderable. The factories on the western coast prospered under the able management of Surat. The cargoes for England in 1681-2 consisting of cloths, pepper, cardamoms, and cassia lignum were valued at 1, 063, 932 rupees.²

1. Anderson, pp. 110-111.

2. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 472.

In 1682-3 the Court asserted that the amount of stock sent out to India this season was larger than ever before, and would amount to above 1,000,000 sterling.¹ Surat sent home this season six ships with a cargo valued at 14,133,000 rupees.²

The natives, however, did not allow the English to carry on their traffic in peace. Sambhaji, Raja, the Maratha ruler, and Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor, were still engaged in active hostilities, and Surat and Bombay suffered because of their proximity to the field of operations. Aurangzeb equipped a fleet against his son Akbar who had united with Sambhaji, and the English found themselves in anything but an enviable position. They were forced to withdraw their factory at Ra[~]japur which belonged to Sambhaji, but they endeavored to keep on friendly terms with the great chieftain. The Siddi, the Mughal's hereditary admiral, had to be kept in a good humor on account of the proximity of the royal fleet. Interruptions to merchants were therefore frequent, and it was exceedingly difficult to secure goods for the outgoing vessels on account of the unsettled state of the country. The Portuguese, not so skillful in maintaining neutrality, had brought down upon their settlements the Maratha forces by offending their chieftain.

The interlopers were as active as ever. The con-

1. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 477.

2. do p. 488.

duct of two of the Company's servants, Petit and Boucher, in encouraging these traders brought about their dismissal from the Company's service. This addition to the ranks of the interlopers was a great stimulus to the cause of illicit traffic on the western coast. In 1682-3 the Company felt it necessary to maintain a native envoy at the Mughal's court to counteract the schemes of these interlopers, and lamented the additional expense of 400 rupees per annum which was forced upon them by these troublesome personages. The interlopers published throughout the country that they were employed by a new company and were authorized to pay customs without reserve. The effect of this was to lessen the confidence of the natives and to raise the price of Indian commodities. But a proof of the continued prosperity of the Company is the fact that their stock sold in 1683 at 360 to 500%.

The most important episode in the history of the English on the western coast during the early years of John Child's administration at Surat was the insurrection of Richard Keigwin, commander of the Company's garrison at Bombay, which broke out Dec. 27, 1683. "The source of this and its first appearances threatened the whole of the Company's settlements with ruin, and particularly endangered the English interests on the West coast!" In 1680 Keigwin, who had been governor at St. Helena, had been "engaged to proceed" to Bombay with

1. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 512.

the rank of captain-lieutenant, and was to bring with him 70 soldiers and 18 pieces of small ord nance. The order for his having a seat in the Bombay council was revoked the following season. He had fought a successful naval action with Marathas toward the close of 1679, and had shown himself a man of courage and military ability. " Seeing ourselves alone Capt. Minchin and myself encouraged our soldiers and seamen, admonishing them what a disgrace it would be to Christians to be prisoners to heathen, but courageously to defend and fight the enemy bravely, they unanimously said they would live and die with us.¹"

Keigwin assisted by Ensign Thornburn suddenly seized Ward, the Deputy-Governor of Bombay, and annuled the authority of the Company, declaring the island to be under the authority of the king of England. Bombay had been a part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, and had been merely leased to the Company. By this act, therefore, Keigwin appealed to the real owner of the island, the king. The garrison and inhabitants of Bombay supported the insurgents and elected Keigwin Governor. The London East India Company was not to be molested in its trade if it agreed to acknowledge the king's government as proclaimed. Keigwin seized the Hunter frigate and the Company's ship Return, which contained considerable treasure, and declared that this would be used only for the defense of

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 184.

the king's island and government.

In 1681-2 the expenses of Bombay had been limited to 72,000 xerafins¹ per annum. The following season the soldiers and inhabitants murmured because of the dearness of provisions which had resulted from the possession of the island of Kenery by the fleet of Sambhaji, and the consequent exposure of Bombay to attacks and danger by the harbor being constantly occupied by the Mughal admiral. The small wages of the garrison were inadequate for supplying them with the bare necessities of life when provisions were so scarce. The Directors in England disapproved of several allowances to military officers, and even reduced the rate of exchange at which common soldiers as well as they were paid. The Company alleged that the cost of the fortifications and establishments at Bombay had necessitated these measures of extreme retrenchment, especially with regard to the pay of the soldiers and the position and prospects of the officers.² The garrison had been so reduced and authority was so lax that the troops were in a state bordering on insubordination. Capt. Keigwin had applied for subsistence money, as there was no Company's table and he had been allowed 25 rupees per month only after much altercation with

1. Xerafin, " a silver coin at one time issued in Goa, India, by Portuguese authority: value about 75 cents. "-Standard Dict. p. 2086.

2. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 513.

Ward, the Deputy-Governor. But even this allowance was ordered to be refunded, and this parsimonious measure added another source of discontent. This was undoubtedly the main cause of the revolt. It certainly originated in a too severe attack upon the pocket-books of the Company's garrison.

An open outbreak was likewise encouraged by the interlopers who were so numerous that they could not fail to get information of the state of affairs. Sir Thomas Graham, who took an active part in suppressing the mutiny, claimed that he saw letters in Keigwin's own hand which showed a connection with Pettit and Boucher as encouragers of his design.¹ It has been suggested by some that the unsettled state of affairs in England i. e. the attempts to form a rival East India Company, and the consequent rumors and reports which reached India tended to diminish respect for the London East India Company in the eyes of their own servants, and the Directors chose an unfavorable moment for reducing expenses at Bombay.

The revolters, in letters to the king of England and the Duke of York, intimated that the selfish schemes of Sir Josiah Child in England and of his brother, Mr. John Child, President of Surat, of whom the Deputy-Governor, Mr. Ward, was an instrument only, had been the real cause of their conduct.² There can be no doubt that the orders for the lessening

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 135.

2. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 514.

of charges, both civil and military, were carried out in that uncompromising arbitrary manner so characteristic of the Childs. Orme asserts that the orders of the Company were " positive and were enforced with pertinacity. "¹

As soon as the news of the revolt reached Surat, President Child appointed three commissioners to treat with the insurgents, and to endeavor to persuade them to return to their allegiance by promises of pardon and a redress of grievances. These negotiations continued for a month without any settlement being reached. President Child tried visiting the island in person, but succeeded no better. In fact, it was against him and his brother that their animosity was directed, " to whose influence they ascribed not only the sufferings which had driven them to the measures which they had taken, but all the evils of which they and the greater part of the inhabitants of Bombay complained. "² These conferences lasted until March of the following year. It was impossible for the President to use coercive measures to bring the rebels to terms as the crews of the vessels employed in visiting the island, although openly assisting the Company, could not be relied upon in case of active measures being taken against their comrades, who were of the same blood and from the same country. Three ships were therefore sent to England and two of the Company's servants

1. Orme, Fragments, p. 186.

2. Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 515-16.

were stationed on the island of Kenery and two at the Portuguese settlement of Vesava to direct the captains of ships not to go into Bombay harbor, but to proceed to Swally, the port of Surat.

When the Court of Directors in London had received detailed information of all that had taken place in Bombay, a committee of secrecy was appointed to consult with the king as to what measures might be taken for the recovery of the island. In August, 1684, this committee, consisting of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Sir Jeremy Sambrook, and Mr. Joseph Herne, submitted a carefully prepared report to the king, in which they attempted to justify their own conduct and that of their servants in India. They compared the condition of the Dutch and English soldier in the East. The latter received more pay in the London East India Company's service than a Dutch inferior officer. The Company had always tried to deal fairly with its servants, but the charges of their fortifications rendered a diminution of ~~pay~~ necessary. These fortifications had been the result of a laudable desire to improve the condition of the island after it had been entrusted to them by His Majesty Charles II. It was the schemes of the interlopers which lay at the root of the matter, particularly Petit and Boucher, for they had revived the ques-

tion against the prerogative of His Majesty, whether a grant from the Crown without the authority of parliament could give exclusive privileges to the London East India Company. This clause could not fail to have its effect upon a Stuart king, and Charles II was no exception to his predecessors. The report concluded with three requests (1) that a commission be issued under the Great Seal for restoring Bombay to the Company, (2) that pardon be offered to the rebels with the exception of the four ringleaders, Keigwin, Thornburn, Capt. Adderton, and Lieut. Fletcher, (3) that His Majesty issue a proclamation ordering all interlopers to leave India under severe penalties.¹

That part of the request which pertained to the reduction of Bombay was immediately granted, and Charles II issued an order to the mutineers to deliver the island to Child or to any of the Company's servants who should be entrusted with the negotiations. A general pardon was to be offered to the mutineers, with the exception of the four ringleaders. Along with these instructions the Court of Directors appointed John Child to be Captain General and Admiral of the Company's sea and land forces, and Thos. Grantham to be Vice Admiral. They received orders to assemble a fleet and to proceed to Bombay and to intimate the King's orders to Keigwin and his associates. In case of a refusal to submit, they were to be branded as traitors and mutineers, a council of war was to

1. Bruce, Vol. II, pp 524-5.

be summoned and a reward was to be offered for the apprehension of the ringleaders, i. e. 4000 rupees for Keigwin, 4000 for Ensign Thornburn, 2000 for Capt. Adderton, and 2000 for Lieut. Fletcher. To stimulate their servants, the Company offered pensions to those who should be wounded in the struggle and allowances to the wives of the slain.¹

The secret committee advised their servants to try every expedient to win back the mutineers before resorting to force. In case of a general pardon being granted before the arrival of these orders, the four ringleaders were to be carefully watched, and if they showed any further indications of stirring up sedition, were to be tried and executed. For the better preservation of the government of the island, the President and Council were to remove the seat of authority from Surat to Bombay, and were also to act against interlopers.²

The condition of affairs in Bombay remained practically unchanged while all this was being transacted in London. It is true that the Company's ship, "Return," which had been dispatched by the mutineers to Petit at Surat, fell into the hands of the Company. The treasure, however, remained in the hands of Keigwin. He had not been idle during this interval, but showed himself an able governor of the island. He had negotiated a treaty with Sambhaji for free trade throughout his dominions, and had secured a debt of 12,000 pagodas,³ which the Maratha

1. Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 526-7.

2. do 527-8.

3. About \$ 24,000.

had owed the Company for some time. The trade of the Company was in a critical condition as the natives were unable to distinguish between the true Company and the mutineers.

John Child showed himself a true servant of the Company at this time, and did not allow the unsettled state of affairs to entirely interrupt trade. He even established a factory at Tellicherry in addition to making up an investment for Europe. At this juncture Dr. St. John, the Judge Advocate, arrived in India, 15 Sept., 1684, and established an Admiralty Court at Surat. In order to terrify the revolters at Bombay, they were informed that their case would come under his jurisdiction, and they would, therefore, be treated more summarily than in England.

On his arrival Dr. St. John submitted a report of the state of affairs to the king of England. This was filled with fulsome flattery of the conduct of President Child and his associates, and is in direct contrast to his attitude soon after, when he had ceased to be on friendly terms with the President.

His experience here, his ability, judgement, true loyalty, and jealous disposition for Your Majesty's and the English nation's concerns, are to the admiration and content of all your Majesty's loyal subjects in India. I have never met with a more zealous subject of your Majesty than this Honorable

John Child. He often declares that he would sacrifice unto your Majesty and in your service the last drop of his blood,

he is uneasy and impatient to see your Majesty dishonored and villified by all the rebels of Bombay and interlopers, etc.¹⁶ After an attentive examination of the conduct of Child, he had reached the conclusion that the interlopers were the 'causa causans' of the rebellion, and that no other motives had influenced Keigwin, whom he termed the Oliver and Protector of the island of Bombay except plunder and rebellion. He concluded with an urgent appeal to the king to appoint Child to be the King's Admiral in India with full powers to seize and bring to justice all interlopers whatsoever. Unless the king empowered the Company to take more active measures against the Portuguese and Dutch, and especially against the interlopers in India, the Company's trade would not continue three years.

The arrival of Sir Thomas Grantham changed entirely the face of affairs. Sir Thomas had been sent out the previous season to recover Bantam from the Dutch, but finding on arriving there that the English factors had left with all their possessions and that his forces were inadequate to check the tide of affairs, collected what pepper he could, and sailed for Persia to examine into the status of the Company there, and endeavor if possible by a show of force to bring His Highness the Shah to terms. His force again was not sufficient to awe the Persian ruler, as the Dutch had anticipated him with a much larger armament. He now directed his course to Surat, and arrived just in the nick of time, 13 Oct., 1684. After consult-

1. Hedges, Vol. II, pp. 180-1.

ing with President Child, he decided to proceed to Bombay, and left Swally the 30th of October, arriving in Bombay the 3d of November.

The next morning Grantham landed, and was met at the wharf by several soldiers and some officers. He asked for Captain Keigwin, and was immediately ushered into his presence. Then followed a series of negotiations, an exchange of letter after letter, and finally on the 10th Grantham signed a general pardon upon his own terms, by which the mutineers agreed to redeliver the island and the treasure, consisting of twelve bags of gold. This sum was conveyed on board Grantham's ship, and the next morning Grantham again betook himself to the fort where the soldiers were drawn up by Keigwin, who read them the proposed terms of surrender. A scene of mutiny followed. With a shout of "No governor but Keigwin", a scene of confusion followed, and Grantham himself narrowly escaped being murdered. "One Harwood, a soldier with a pistol laden with a brace of bullets in the crowd just by me, presented it to my back, but one Capt Fletcher, a captain of theirs, being next to me, seeing the same in the moment, caught hold of it and prevented the rogue of his design." As soon as it was dark and the excitement had subsided, Grantham got out of the fort and went on board, where he staid until the 19th, still keeping up a secret correspondence with Keigwin by means of fishing boats, and "kept the stone rolling till it fell into its right center."²

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 160.

2. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 170.

The condition of affairs on the island during this interval of four days may be learned from the letters exchanged. Many of the insurgents had been filled with strong brandy, that they might be the more easily persuaded to continue in their design. 15 Nov., Gary³ wrote to Grantham, " By my observations since you left the shore the operation of the strong brandy is almost at its period, the ring-leaders of the giddy-headed rabble beginning to understand their case better than they did, and are now sending Capt. Nichols off to you with their propositions.¹" Keigwin himself was in danger of his life, if his own statements can be trusted. Nov. 16, he wrote, " In a little time hope to compose this unhappy difference. Two of the principal men I have convinced, and are wonderfully penitent for opposing me, and are now my instruments for working upon the rest.²" It was not until the 17th or 18th that Keigwin saw his way clear to effecting a surrender. He writes, " I thank God I have our soldiers' and people's consent to desire you to come on shore and settle the government. There is not now a dissenting person.⁴"

The terms of the surrender guaranteed a full and ample pardon to all the revoltors, the ringleaders included, the possession of their estates, and a passage to England, if they desired it. Keigwin took passage with Grantham for Surat. Here

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 174.

2. do p. 176.

4. do p.

3. Capt. Gary was last governor of king on island, sent to treat with Marathas during insurrection.

he did not restrain his invectives against John Child, but he soon left the country for England. The revolt had lasted eleven months, during which period not a drop of blood had been shed except a slight wound inflicted upon Keigwin by Thornburn in a drunken quarrel. But very little property had been destroyed. During the whole interval Keigwin had shown himself a self-restrained and able leader.

The easy terms imposed upon the mutineers were not regarded with entire satisfaction by the authorities at Surat. 13 Jan., 1685, the following was penned to the Court of Directors in London, in all probability by John Child, " Although Sir Thos. Grantham and etc. may have given a full account ... concerning the reducing of Bombay, yet we think it not amiss to send you copy of the mutineers' proposals made to Sir Thos. Grantham, wherein your honors will see their impudence and rank naughtiness to the last. Keigwin, the notorious rascal, is on board of the Charles the Second as impudent as Hell, glorying in his roguery, being secured under Sir Thomas's protection, with whom he designs for England. We cannot see but what he will get out of our hands, but indeed it's ten thousand pities he should escape the halter, being the very false rascal without whom the revolt in Bombay would not have been. "

The Herald's Office account represents Sir Thos. Grantham's proceedings on a much grander scale. He cut off 22 of the revolters' ships, and landing the 22nd of November, with

 l. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 182.

250 men in the night, surprised the castle and fort, which had 114 peices of cannon mounted, making himself master thereof, whereupon he released Mr. Ward from his confinement, retrieved to the value of 12,000 l. of the Company's treasure that had been treacherously seized in the ship "Return," and in short showed himself everywhere a hero. The falsity of this report is attested by all authorities.

This episode cannot well be dismissed without a brief notice of the fate of Thornburn. Several of the writers on the period, notably those hostile to the Company, accuse Child of cruelty and barbarity in his proceeding against this insurgent. Thornburn, being a married man, was unable to leave India immediately, and tarried to settle up his affairs. On some charge or other he was thrown into prison, where he languished and died. No doctor was allowed to visit him, although his wife and child besought Child to grant this favor. It was only with difficulty that he was persuaded to allow her to remain with him the day and night before he died. Not content with persecuting her husband, Child was so malignant that he practically ostracized her from society, forcing her almost to penury, and ruined the unfortunate gentleman who, pitying her misfortunes, married her soon after. Absence of any material on the other side leaves this point in doubt. The fact that Hamilton is the main authority for the facts narrated, makes one cautious of accepting the story. Thornburn may have died in prison, but not

as the result of barbarous treatment at the hands of John Child. On the other hand, it is not improbable that the President grasping the opportunity, vented his spite on the first unhappy victim who fell into his clutches. The tone of his letter to the Court of Directors with regard to the final settlement of affairs at Bombay shows his dissatisfaction and his attitude toward the revolters. If the facts are true, then Child cannot be condoned one iota. It was an act of tyranny without any mitigation or palliation.

With the possible exception of Thornburn, Watson, the Company's chaplain at Bombay, was the only sufferer for implication in the revolt. He was dismissed from the Company's service, with orders to leave the island immediately. The Court did not even grant him a free passage home, as they had done in the case of the other revolters. They evidently meant to terrify their other chaplains in India from mingling too much with secular affairs instead of attending to the spiritual welfare of their servants in India.

It was some time before the Company felt that affairs in Bombay were definitely settled. The departure of the ring-leaders, however, crushed the insurrection effectually, and the spirit of disaffection gradually disappeared. Bombay was soon to become the seat of English authority in India, and with this increase in power, the possibility of insurrections decreased. More important affairs were soon to occupy its attention.

CHAPTER V.

SIR JOHN CHILD AND THE MUGHAL EMPEROR AURANGZEB-
CAUSES AND HISTORY OF THE FIRST WAR OF ENGLISH IN INDIA.

Surat and its government sink into comparative insignificance, as a new and broader field of operations unfolds itself to the vision in the opening days of 1686. It was in London that Sir Josian Child first exerted those giant powers which made him foremost in the councils of the London East India Company. London was too small a field for the exercise of these powers, and Surat and western India soon felt the weight of his authority through the administration of his able representative, John Child. He was now to attain the grand culmination of his policy, to make the great coup d'état, and shake the whole Mughal Empire to its very foundations. It is true that in his previous lines of policy he had embraced all the Company's

settlements in India, but he was now to work out a broader and bigger policy than had been hitherto attempted by any European power in India, a step which might well make the more timorous hesitate, viz. an appeal to arms in vindication of the Company's rights in India. That he did not enter upon this course hastily, but rather as the result of a conviction that it was for the best interests of the Company, the events themselves attest. His attempt at the establishment of an English Empire in the East, if one may term it such, was the natural result of his whole previous policy, and is by no means surprising when one examines the condition of Indian affairs.

The London East India Company at this time consisted of a number of isolated factories, situated mainly on the eastern and western coasts of India. These factories included on the western coast, the island of Bombay, which was held directly from the English king, and was therefore independent of any native authority, Surat, which was under a native governor, appointed by the Mughal Emperor, and several factories, such as Rajapur and Karwar, along the Malabar coast, each situated in some native town or city, and therefore subject to the imperial governor or independent prince of the neighborhood. All these minor factories, as well as Bombay, were at this time in matters of trade and internal regulation subject to Surat. On the eastern coast was the strip of land which had been pur-

chased from an independent chieftain who was claimed as a feudatory by the Sultan of Golconda in 1639, and therefore a sovereign state, and the small stations subordinate to it, all located in native cities, of which the chief was Masulipatam. The settlements in Bengal had at this time again fallen back into subordination to Fort St. George. The principal factories were those at Hugli, Kasimbazar, Malidah, and Chandarnagar in Bengal proper, Patna in Behar, and Balasor on the coast of Orissa. All these cities of Bengal, Behar and Orissa were under the Nawab who ruled these provinces, and therefore like Surat formed a part of the Mughal Empire.

At this time the Mughal Emperor's power in India was disputed by a powerful prince on the western coast, Sambhaji Raja, the Maratha, the son of Sivaji, and on the eastern coast by the Sultan of Golconda, who was one of the independent Muhammadan sovereigns of the Deccan. Fort St. George was not concerned in the war with the Mughal, and the events in Bengal affected but slightly the progress of trade there. It was at Surat and Bombay, and particularly in Bengal, that the Company soon realized the cost of war with such a powerful sovereign as Aurangzeb, who had in 1685 conquered the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur, and successfully waged campaign after campaign against his rebellious subjects. He was a born warrior, or rather born to be a warrior, as the last twenty years of his life were spent on

the battlefield. It was he who checked that powerful prince on the western coast, whose cities sheltered some of the Company's factories. His dominions at this time covered an area as large as Europe excluding Russia, and he had at his command 200,000,000 subjects.

From its earliest days the London Company had been the subject of jealous solicitude on the part of the Mughal Emperor and his officers. In the early part of the seventeenth century it had been a comparatively easy matter to obtain firmans from native princes and governors, but these viewed with envy the increasing prosperity of the Company, and placed every obstacle in the way of its progress as the century drew near its close. In no district of India which came under the sway of the Mughal were the English permitted to erect anything about their factories which might pass for fortifications. At Hugli in Bengal an ensign and thirty men constituted the sole garrison, if one may rely upon the testimony of Orme. An increase of this force would bring down active interference on the part of the Mughal's viceroy. It was not until the Child period that the Company ventured to stand forth as a power in India, and endeavored to show itself independent of native interference. Up to this time the Company had regarded it as sound policy to quietly submit to the various exactions and oppressions, hoping, but vainly as it proved, that each contribution exacted would be the last.

Things went from bad to worse. At the beginning of this period the Siddi and ^{the} Maratha admiral were seen terrorizing Bombay and vicinity. A little later Bombay Harbor was forced to shelter the Mughal fleet and by this act called down upon its head the threats of the Maratha chieftain on the opposite shore. But it was in Bengal that war against the Mughal was first conceived and carried out. The situation there was particularly aggravating. Hedges found trade in a sorry plight on his arrival at Hugli as agent in 1682. Trade had been interdicted unless the Company would pay custom both for goods and treasure. A present to the native governor would ensure the landing of treasure carried by the English ships, but its removal to subordinate factories had to be obtained by another judicious bestowal of presents. But even then the goods were stopped again and again on the road. When the money arrived at Kasimbazar, the governor there made proclamation that no merchant there should buy any silver of the English, and this act forced the English agent to send it to the mint. Here it was stopped again. A Mr. Harvey, stationed at Dacca, with considerable difficulty, had succeeded in getting the order reversed for payment of customs for seven months only, but this proved of no great advantage as the governor at Kasimbazar refused to obey the order, insulted the English, and refused to accept their passes. Finally in despair the English decided to appeal to the Nawab of Bengal, who at

at this time resided at Dacca. They reached his court only with difficulty. When the foudjar heard of their proposed visit, he sent men in pursuit of them. Two of the boats with cloth were seized and brought back to the custom house. The agent succeeded in rescuing these, but was followed by land and water, and a proclamation was made that no boatman or steersman should serve the English. When the agent saw that it was impossible to proceed by native boats, two of the Company's sloops were employed, and in this way he reached his destination. In the meantime 1000 T. of saltpetre arrived from Patna. This was immediately seized by the governor's order, who threatened that he would sell it and pay himself, or would surprise the English factory there, unless 50,000 rupees customs were given. The council stood up for their rights and told him to do his worst. When the governor saw that money could not be extorted in this way, the Company's vakeel or native servant was sent for on the pretence of doing him a kindness, but was severely beaten and word was sent to the factory that he would be beaten to death unless the customs were paid. In this way 5000 rupees were extorted. The governor then issued a proclamation that no Hindu or Muhammadan should serve the English or buy silver of them under 10% custom, upon which dollars fell from 208 to 180 rupees for \$100. Some idea of the condition of the Company's trade in this province may be gained by this recital, which reached the Court of Direc-

tors in London soon after the arrival of William Hedges.¹

Under date of Dec. 7, 1883, Hedges wrote from Bengal,
 " 'T will be impossible for us to hold out long without payment
 of custom as well as they (interlopers) if we do not resolve to
 fall out with these people very speedily.²" From this it would ap-
 pear that the interlopers were as omnipresent here as in other
 parts of India, and were working all manner of harm by their at-
 titude toward the Company and the native powers. Hedges again
 and again reverts to the necessity of taking some active measures
 against the natives in this district. " The Company's affairs will
 never be any better but always grow worse and worse with contin-
 ual patching till they resolve to quarrel with these people and
 build a fort on the island ^{of} Nagar at the mouth of this river, and
 run the hazard of losing the year's trade in the Bay, in one
 fourth of which time there's no fear of bringing these people to
 our conditions. If this be not speedily taken in hand by us,
 there's no doubt to be made but 'twill soon be done by the Dutch,
 who talk of it freely as often as we meet with them; and then
 we must expect to be soon turned out of this country.³" Again in
 1884, there is this entry in his diary, " I heard the President
 (Gyfford) declare he was now very well assured the trade of this
 place could never be carried on to the Company's advantage till
 they fell out with the government, and could oblige them to

1.

2. Hedges, Vol. I, p. 142.

3. do pp. 133-4.

grant us better terms, which he thought very feasible. "

Hedges had expressed his opinions freely in his letters to the Court of Directors, and under date of 21 Dec., 1683, his communications and others of a similar character were referred to by the Court at considerable length. Their attitude at this time is in direct contrast to that three years later, and in some points contradicts itself. Their objections to establish-
in. a fortified post in Bengal are briefly the following: (1) the cost of the undertaking, which would be but slowly reim-
bursed, (2) the offence which the establishment of such a post would give to the Mughal, (3) the probability of Dutch inter-
ference in the event of a quarrel with the Mughal, (4) the estab-
lishment of such a fort at the mouth of the Ganges would not injure the Mughal enough to pay the expense of the undertak-
ing. Bombay by its commanding position was able to seize ship-
ping valued at from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 {Sterling annually, whereas " all the prejudice we can do to the Mughal here is stopping a little trade at Balasor of his elephant and beetle-
nut ships and his salt vessels. " (5) They could not see the advantage, they said, of two weak strongholds over one strong one. The strong fort at Bombay did not give trade. (6) The big ships, which were their mainstay, could not anchor about the islands at the mouth of the Ganges. In conclusion they referred

1: Hedges, Vol. I, p. 161:

to either proposal of attacking Githygon, and holding that the center of power in the district, but were not ready to express their opinion on the advisability of the project.¹

At this time they drew a fine distinction between securing a stronghold and making an armed demonstration of their power in the East, and write, "We are positively resolved first or last to assert our right due to us by the Credit M^o's firm, man, purchased to us at a heavy price to our cost of more 150,000 sterling, including taxes to and the charge of building our own factories, we therefore we shall never submit peacefully to the system demanded of us at the arrival of our agent, Hottel." All this was written as early as 1832. The Company's imperial policy was gradually worked out during the interval from 1832 to 1839.²

Hottel's mission from 1839 on for some by letters of the directors of council to Sir Joseph Smith, (and the example of Sir Joseph Smith's relations with the servants of the Company) placed England and its colonies under Fort St. George. The administration of the district was under Byford. In 1841-5, the Court of Directors avowed their object in the title to collect from the people of the province or other tax to all some article in that province which is a fertile land and the circumference of the island, and this station right across a seat

of trade, " because without such a place of safety, trade must
 be limited. "

This same season Gyfford visited Hugli and introduced some reforms in the internal management of the Company's affairs there. An incident at Kasimbazar counteracted his reforms, and brought the Company into serious trouble with the native authorities. Notwithstanding the weavers were indebted to the Company a lakh² and a half of rupees, the foudjar ordered Job Charnock, who was at this time agent there, to pay them 43,000 rupees more and remit the debt. On his refusal to comply with this demand, the case was laid before the nawab of the province, and a complaint was sent to the emperor. This was the comparatively small beginning which was to result in an open outbreak with the emperor himself. The nawab adjudged the claim good and summoned Charnock to appear before him at Dacca. Charnock had no intention of complying with the request, and made every effort to get the decision modified. Kasimbazar was boycotted, and when the news of the death of the agent at Hugli had arrived, and Charnock was urgently called to assume the management of the factory there, troops were stationed about the factory at Kasimbazar to prevent his escape. Somehow or other he cut the Gordian knot and escaped, arriving in Hugli between the 16th and 17th of April 1686.³

A change in the attitude of the Directors in London had

1. Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 532-3.

2. do p. 547.

3. 1,00,000 rupees, formerly equivalent to \$50,000.

resulted while these events were occurring in India. In 1685-6, the Company obtained the King's Patent authorizing the appointment of the President, (now Sir John Child, Bart.) to be Captain General and Admiral of all their forces by sea and land from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia. To properly support this dignity he was to be attended by a guard of 30 English grenadiers while at Bombay. An order also arrived for the transference of the seat of government from Surat to Bombay. The Court explained that they considered this measure necessary in order to support the English character and afford its trade an impregnable retreat from which they might be able to retaliate upon their eastern foes.

At this time that renowned Secret Committee came into pre-eminence, a committee appointed for the avowed purpose of rendering the orders of the Court of Directors less known to the domestic and foreign enemies of the Company, but in reality having as a main object a display of armed power in the East. This committee consisted of Sir Joseph Ash, (the Governor of the Company) Sir

Josiah Child, (Deputy-Governor) Sir Benjamin Bathurst, and Mr. Joseph Herne. This committee wrote to Bengal, 14, Jan., 1686, " We ... have examined seriously the opinion of the most prudent and experienced of our commanders, all which do concenter in this one opinion, (and to us seeming pregnant truth) viz. that since these governors have by that unfortunate accident and audacity of

the interlopers got the knack of trampling upon us and extorting what they pleased of our estate from us by the besieging of our factories and stopping of our boats upon the Ganges, they will never forbear doing so till we have made them as sensible of our power as we have of our truth and justice, and we **AFTER MANY DELIBERATIONS** are firmly of the same opinion, and resolve with God's blessing to pursue it. " A bold and defiant attitude was to be the rule of conduct of their servants in Bengal and Charnock and his associates were censured for their timidity and submissiveness toward the Nawab and his officers. Fort St. George was ordered to be made as impregnable as possible in the event of any disturbance with the natives, and Gyfford was again instructed to obtain a fortified post in Bengal.

The schemes of the Committee met the approval of the reigning sovereign, James II., and an armament larger than any which had ever visited India was speedily equipped for service in the East. This squadron consisted of five ships and two frigates, carrying 234 guns and 740 men, and was to be joined by all the Company's sloops and small vessels at Fort St. George. The conduct of the war was to be entrusted to Charnock, the Company's principal agent at Hugli. This expedition was expected in a general way to copy the Dutch at Batavia, who had brought the whole of their foreign interests under the control of their

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 51.

Governor General.¹

This same year the Dutch were at war with Golconda, and the English at Fort St. George were ordered to assist the Sultan of Golconda and obtain in return the grant of St. Thomé, - , " demands which discover, even at this early period, that the Company were assuming a political and military character that they might acquire such territories as would furnish supplies to their fortified seats of trade, and give them respectability and influence in the political contests of native powers.² " The Company, with the king of England's approval, gave Sir John Child additional powers, constituting him what in modern times has been termed the Governor General of the countries within their limits. Child was the first man in the whole history of the London Company to be honored with this title, but this title was soon to perish with the fondly cherished plans of its exponent, and was not to be revived again for nearly a century. It is another one of those facts in Anglo-Indian history which distinguishes the Child Period above all others down to the time of Clive and Hastings. If one would see the beginning of that imperial policy which brought India under British rule let him study the details of this first attempt of the London Company to win recognition in India. The Company made application to the king for an entire company of infantry to be transferred to their service. The king of England sent out a pro-

1. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 567. 2. Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 567-8.

lamation for the withdrawal of all English subjects from the service of native powers. The Company felt that war had commenced in real earnest. As yet, however, Bengal was the field of operations. Surat had not been drawn into active hostilities. The Company hoped to confine the war for the present to Bengal and to continue on friendly terms with the native princes in western India. The king's charters and the Company's orders were to govern the internal administration of affairs, and these were to be the only constitution or laws under which they were to act.

Just at this crisis some daring acts of piracy upon the Mughal's subjects committed by Danish ships sailing under English colors well nigh precipitated an open outbreak upon the western coast. The French and Dutch joined in accusing the London Company of the outrage, and especially the Presidency of Surat. Governor Child manifested considerable diplomacy at this time, and by offering to send English ships against these marauders "averted the violence which might otherwise have ensued." It was at this time that the instructions of the Secret Committee reached Bombay, and in the absence of Sir John Child, were opened by the Deputy-Governor, Wyborne, a piece of rashness from which the Court anticipated much danger, fearing that the Mughal would get information of their plans. Sir John Child informed the Court of Directors that he intended to await

the issue in Bengal before entering upon hostilities with the Mughal, but if circumstances forced him to break with the Mughal he would take the blame upon himself that no harm might befall the Company through any independent action on his part.¹

But to return to the fleet which had been equipped for service in Bengal. They were instructed to take on board at Balasor the agent and principal men of the council of the Bay, to arrest all vessels of the Mughal, to seize Chittagong, and as soon as this was captured, to proceed against the Nawab at Dacca. Peace was to be offered only on the following terms, (1) cession of Chittagong, (2) payment of outstanding debts, (3) permission to coin rupees at Chittagong which should pass current in the district, (4) restoration of privileges according to ancient stipulations. Alliances with native princes were to be entered upon if these would prove of any assistance to them in carrying out the designs of the Company. After this part of their work had been performed, and the tone of the Company's letters implied a belief in the speedy accomplishment of their designs, the squadron were to vindicate their rights against the king of Siam, and should the Portuguese continue to exact customs at Thana and Karanja on the Malabar Coast, the government at Surat were to refuse payment and ^{to} attempt the recovery of Salsette and the other dependencies of Bombay originally ceded by the treaty with Charles II. The attitude of the ^{Court} ~~Board~~ of

1. Bruce, Vol. II, pp. 576-7.

Directors appears in the conclusion of these instructions. "

" But you must understand that though we prepare for and resolve to enter into a war with the Mughal, our ultimate end is peace. . . . But we have no remedy left but either to desert our trade or we must draw that sword His Majesty hath entrusted us with to vindicate the rights and honor of the English nation in India. "

One vessel of the fleet was lost in the passage to India, the largest ship with another was unable to make the passage of the Ganges, but the remainder reached Hugli in October, 1686. By this time the foudjar, who had in some way got wind of the intended hostilities, had assembled a considerable force about the factory. The arrival of these forces so alarmed the country that the Nawab ordered down three or four hundred horse and three or four thousand infantry to the scene of operations. No blow had been struck as yet on either side.

Abdulghani, the foudjar of Hugli, became very insolent toward the English soldiers, refusing them victuals in the bazar, and this was the cause of an eruption of the volcano, the effects of which were almost as disastrous as those of Vesuvius in ancient times. On the morning of the 28th of October, three English soldiers resorting to the bazar for food were attacked by a body of the governor's peons, and were carried half dead

to Abdughani. When the soldiers in the factory were apprized that three of their comrades had been set upon and left half dead in the street, (for thus the affair was reported) all was confusion. Capt. Leslie with a small body of soldiers was immediately ordered to sally forth and bring in their bodies dead or alive, but to offer no resistance to the natives unless his soldiers were attacked first. A skirmish ensued with the loss of seven natives on the other side, and in a moment the whole town was aroused. The people set to work to burn their own houses, especially those near the English quarters, and destroyed the old factory of the Company which contained a large quantity of saltpetre and other goods. As the natives began to display the guns of a battery which they had erected to command the Company's ships, Charnock in hot haste sent for the English detachment at Chandarnagar three miles away, and in the meantime ordered a detachment to advance upon the fort. This detachment met with such " hot service and strong opposition " that it was compelled to fall back, and another body under Capt. Arbuthnot with fresh recruits was sent against it, and after a short engagement captured the fort and spiked all the guns. The total loss on the native side up to this time was about 60 killed, among which were three eminent men, a great many wounded, and about 400 to 500 houses burnt down, with a great number of small boats. The

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 55.

English loss was slight, consisting of but two killed, one of whom was the man set upon by the peons, in the morning, and a small number of wounded.

Through the mediation of the Dutch the foudjar endeavored to arrange terms of peace, but these failed to satisfy the conditions enjoined by the Board of Directors. But inasmuch as a vast quantity of saltpetre and other goods were endangered by a renewal of hostilities, Charnock obtained a cessation of hostilities until these could be removed to a place of safety. Meanwhile the news of this engagement reached the Nawab at Dacca and he immediately issued orders for the seizure of the Company's goods and factors at Patna. The property at this station was inconsiderable, amounting at the most to 2000 rupees.

At this time an itemized statement of damages was drawn up by the Company. These were estimated at 6,625,000 rupees. During the cessation of hostilities fruitless negotiations took place on either side for a settlement of affairs. Bruce states that Charnock was disposed to accede to the terms offered by the Nawab, to submit their claims to arbitration, had not the orders of the Court been so positive for the seizure of Chittagong, but this does not appear very clearly in Charnock's own letters. He was disposed to distrust all offers of settlement until he felt himself to be in a position to enforce his demands.

The latter part of December, 1686, found Charnock and his

soldiers stationed at Sutanati, the site of the modern Calcutta, a post lower down the river, and therefore regarded as a more advantageous site than Hugli for carrying on further negotiations. Here Charnock and Capt. Nicholson drew up twelve articles or stipulations, which failed of acceptance at this time, but were the basis of later negotiations. The demands of the Company were briefly as follows; sufficient ground for the building of a fort and the establishment of a mint therein, the rebuilding of the factory at Maldah by the Nawab, reimbursement for the loss incurred at Kasimbazar, and a grant for a trade which should be free from customs. The opinion of the General and council at Surat on the proceedings of their servants in Bengal is embodied in the following, under date of 18 May, 1687, " Our friends in the Bay must have made a hog or dog of it there before this time, and if not, finding they could effect nothing well, patched up a peace with the Nawab, and by that lulled the Moors into security with resolutions to go on with more resolution and nimbleness on August next, at once to strike without noise, and if possible they may reach your Honors' orders; so that let it be how it will with them, what we have directed cannot harm at all their designs: For they must have the place your Honors' desire or are put beyond the hopes of it before it can be known what we have done. ¹"

The demands of Charnock upon the Nawab resulted in a

1. Hedges, Vol. II, pp. 61-2.

fresh outbreak of hostilities. Orders were sent to all his sub-governors for the levying of all the forces possible throughout the country " to thrust the English out of the kingdom, never more to trade therein. " On the 9th of February, Charnock's¹ soldiers burnt down the King's salt houses, and two days after, assaulted and took his fort at Tannah with but slight loss. Capt. Nicholson was sent down the river with a portion of the fleet to take possession of the island of Hijili, and the 27th saw all the English forces stationed there. This island was immediately fortified that it might furnish a base of operations for expeditions against the Mughal's ships and territory. About this time a detachment from the Nathaniel and Rochester, which lay in Ballasor road, captured about fourteen of the native ships which had been drawn up into dry docks and a large quantity of other shipping, although commanded by the guns of a native fort. They soon made themselves master of the fort, and the next day took possession of the new town of Ballasor, burning and destroying all before them. Returning to old Ballasor, and finding it impossible to launch the captured ships, they consigned everything to the flames. About 30,000 rupees were plundered from the King's custom house, besides a large quantity of merchants' goods. A detachment farther up country, consisting of 17 men under a Capt. Brownell, fell into an ambush and were cut off with the

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 65.

exception of one man. This was the heaviest loss which had befallen the English up to this time. It was at this juncture that the agent at Patna informed Charnock of the confiscation of the Company's goods at Kasimbazar.

But a more terrible fate was in store for the brave defenders of the Company's rights on the Southern Ganges. The climate, more deadly than the guns of the natives, began to do its effective work. The island was besieged so closely that it was with difficulty that their line of communication with the shore could be maintained, and a scarcity of provisions resulted. The enemy became bolder and bolder as they saw the desperate straits to which the English had been reduced. The deadly miasma, laden with fever and ague, which arose from the low-lying plains of the Ganges soon left but 100 available men in the garrison. Of the officers, out of six lieutenants and eight ensigns, but one remained alive, and of 26 corporals and sergeants but four. To add to their misfortunes, some of the ships had proven themselves unseaworthy, and deserting the fort would mean the loss of the whole of the Company's shipping which was considerable. On the 28th, the enemy almost succeeded in capturing the island, but were driven off after severe fighting.

The arrival of 70 recruits 'from the Europe snipping', about the first of June brought a change in the condition of af-

affairs. An attack upon the native forces was planned and carried out with such success that the Nawab's officer despaired of bringing the English to terms, and sent forth a flag of truce as the preliminary to a treaty. Some writers have suggested that this change in the attitude of the natives in Bengal was the result of affairs on the western coast. " In order to account for this favorable change it is requisite to state that at the same period Admiral Nicholson's fleet was fitted out in England for the attack on Chittagong, orders had been sent to the Governor at Bombay to withdraw the Company's factories from Surat and etc., and to commence hostilities against the Emperor, Aurangzeb, by seizing his ships. ¹ "

Several of the Company's servants visited the Mughal officer with instructions to conclude a treaty on the basis of the demands of the 12 articles, but if they found this impossible, to ² conclude a peace " upon the most advantageous and honorable terms they could procure. " The condition of the Company's forces was such as to necessitate speedy removal from the island, and no time could be lost in fruitless negotiations. After three days the commissioners returned having patched up some sort of a peace based largely on the twelve articles, and the island was surrendered and evacuated. The soldiers withdrew to Little Tanna and

1. Stewart, Bengal, p. 318.

2. Hedges, Vol. II, p.

Ulubaria, awaiting a confirmation of the articles by the Nawab. A very imperfect perwanna arrived July 20th. This did not please Charnock, and he speedily informed the Nawab of the fact, but was assured that a more satisfactory one was on its way. The arrival of this still failed to satisfy the Company's agent, but its terms were accepted until they could remove to Sutanati, which was five miles above Tanna Fort. Here they awaited the despatch of their vakeel to Dacca to express the Company's displeasure, with the firm resolution not to settle any trade till he confirmed the last articles. Charnock felt that the war was not yet ended, but that the peace which existed was but a temporary one. He writes, " They have a great design on foot to flatter us into their clutches, with a few fair words, that they may come upon us for all the damages done them in this war .. as our sundry advices, as well private as otherwise, do sufficiently inform us and caution us. "

While these events were taking place in Bengal, Gyfford at Fort St. George was putting forth every energy to avoid open hostilities with the Mughal. In obedience to the instructions of the Court of Directors he had despatched men and stores to Bengal in the fall of 1686, and had thereby drained the fort of all the available men and ammunition. To add to his difficulties, it was reported that Aurangzeb had conquered the Sultan of Bija-

pur and was about to take up arms against the Sultan of Golconda who was the near neighbor of the English. Cyfford feared that the injuries inflicted upon his highness in Bengal would draw down upon the factory at Fort St. George the rage of the Mughal emperor. He therefore addressed letters to the Emperor explaining that the hostilities in Bengal were aimed only at the recovery of ancient stipulations of trade in that province, and in short that Fort St. George disclaimed any connection with the events which had taken place there. In conclusion he besought the Mughal's protection and a confirmation of the privileges which had been granted Madras. He did not rely entirely upon the efficacy of this letter, but prudently sent to Bombay for a reinforcement of men and ammunition, as there were only fifteen English soldiers in the garrison, and he could place no reliance on the Portuguese soldiers or topasses.

Startling events on the western coast had taken place during this interval, as has been intimated before, and it is necessary to leave Bengal for a moment and return to Surat and the outbreak of hostilities on the western coast in the early months of 1687.

CHAPTER VI.

SIR JOHN CHILD MOVES THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT TO BOMBAY-CONCLUSION OF THE WAR IN BENGAL-THE DEFENSE OF BOMBAY CASTLE-DEATH OF SIR JOHN CHILD-EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE ENGLISH IN OTHER PARTS OF INDIA.

The exact origin of the outbreak of hostilities on the western coast in 1687 is wrapped in obscurity, and has been made the subject of bitter attacks upon Sir Josiah and Sir John Child by the enemies of the Company. The war about Bombay and Surat appears to have been a sort of sequel to the war on the eastern coast, and to have been entered upon for similar reasons. The orders of the Court of Directors, and particularly of the Secret Committee had tended toward a break with the natives as early as 1686-7, but the postponement of actual hostilities until long after the outbreak of war in Bengal appears unaccount-

able. Fear of the vengeance of Aurangzeb, when he should be more accurately informed of the state of affairs in Bengal, and the danger to which their factories would be exposed, was the probable cause of the actual outbreak.

In 1687-88, Bombay was declared a regency in imitation of the Dutch regencies at Batavia and Columbo, and was to assume the rank of an Indian power. To give dignity to the title of Governor General, Sir John Child was to be attended by a life guard of 50 grenadiers. His power was to embrace all the Company's settlements in India. Bombay, which the Directors termed the "key of India," was to be fortified as strong as art and money could make it. Sir Josiah Child can be seen in these instructions, especially in the references to the Dutch method of carrying on their trade by means of fortified settlements.

The outbreak of hostilities on the western coast dates from the removal of the seat of authority from Surat to Bombay, May 2, 1687, which must have taken place before the arrival of the orders detailed above. This move had been enjoined upon their servants at least twice before, alleging each time the necessity of an impregnable post, from which as a base of operations, they might be able to retaliate upon their enemies both native and European, as these latter gave the Company no end of trouble. On his arrival there Child despatched the "Charles the Second" and the "Modena," two of the Company's largest ships, with se-

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cret orders to seize all Mughal ships or Siam vessels at Bussorah and Mocha in the Persian Gulf. Two ships were also despatched to China with similar instructions.

Mr. Harris and his council had been left at Surat, and Child intended to bring off these factors to Bombay before the news of the capture of these vessels should reach the ears of the Mughal. The *F Caesar V* commanded by Capt. Wright, was despatched to this end, and in case the project of the Company had become known, he was instructed to seize all the Mughal vessels in the neighborhood and hold all their passengers as hostages for the Company's servants in Surat. These vessels would consist mainly of pilgrim ships returning from Mecca and Arabia. The incident of the "Dragon" having seized a Surat vessel gave the alarm to the governor of Surat, and the English agent and council were carefully watched to prevent their escape. The native governor sent one of the factors with a letter to Child, and was met in reply with a statement of grievances in thirty five articles.

This is the account of the outbreak as narrated by Bruce. Hamilton, followed by Anderson, gives another view of the matter. The Company had a large number of ships on hand, and, having no stock to employ them, ordered the factories

to borrow as much money as possible from the natives and make up an investment. When they had borrowed to their utmost capacity they were to pick a quarrel with their creditors and thereby cancel the debt. In accordance with this scheme, in 1686-7, the Company's ships were engaged in the widest possible extension of trade, but toward the end of 1687, when it had become inconvenient to discharge the debt, which Anderson says was 281,250, hostilities began with Child's submitting thirty five articles of grievance to the native governor of Surat.

These articles attacked the attitude of the native governor toward the Company in the affair of the Danish piratical expeditions which had lessened the English trade in the vicinity had caused a detention of goods in the native custom house, and the retirement of the President and his council to Bombay. This affair had damaged the credit of the English merchants. The governor's reception of interlopers was another source of injury to the Company. Customs had been arbitrarily raised in certain districts and had been levied on almost everything which the English possessed. Goods were not protected from robbers, but such

1: Anderson, p. 110.

robberies were too often committed with the cognizance of the native rulers themselves. Complaint after complaint was embodied in this list of grievances, each one a just cause for war. The representations of the Dutch, who had endeavored to persuade the native governors that the English were acting without control and committing depredations for which they could not be made responsible, urged Sir John to undertake the war. No governor had hitherto possessed courage enough to vindicate the rights of the Company. The Company, or rather Sir Josiah seconded by Sir John Child, felt that these arbitrary exactions of goods, this protection afforded to enemies of the Company, this inability to obtain satisfaction for injuries done were more than sufficient grounds for war. The Company felt that their opportunity had come to vindicate their rights and to place themselves on a more secure footing with their Eastern neighbors.

Hamilton blames the Company severely for not issuing a declaration of war instead of turning pirates and seizing the Mughal's ships without any intimation of breaking with them. Anderson sarcastically comments on these acts as follows, " Piracy had been so profitable in the hands of private speculators that

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the jealous Company now entered into the business. " Affairs had reached such a crisis that the seizure of ships was a justifiable method of declaring war. It had been practised in Europe, why not in India? The whole attitude of those who characterize Child's conduct as " rash, disingenuous, impolitic, and unjust, " and in even harsher terms, is distorted in face of the events which they endeavor to describe. Again and again had the English submitted their grievances to native rulers, and again and again met with subterfuges, and every means known to the clever native of the East, to avoid granting their requests. The Company felt very much as though they were under some sword of Damocles, which might at any moment fall and ruin forever their trade and prospects in the East. The narration of events, both here and in Bengal, has been in vain if this has not been shown to be the actual state of affairs. That the Company did not interfere with the natives up to this time, was simply a proof of their lack of courage and capacity to undertake the task.

Leaving these grievances to have their effect on the governor of Suraty Child acted with energy and decision in preparing

1. Anderson, p. 113.

for the approaching conflict. A treaty was negotiated with Sambhaji on the following terms; that he pay the English 50,000 rupees and 2000 candy of 'batty'¹ on condition that they protect the creeks and mouths of the rivers along the western coast. Child also applied to the French Directoire at Surat for assistance, conformably to the fourth article of the Marine Treaty between France and England, and through them he also appealed to Van Vogel, chief of the Dutch factory, in consequence of the treaty between England and the States General of Holland.

In the meantime, Harris, who had been unable to leave Surat, was ordered to endeavor to keep the fleet of the Sidi from leaving that harbor, as this would mean an actual outbreak of hostilities against Bombay. He was to lay great stress upon the kindness with which the Mughal's subjects had been treated by the English, and their unwillingness to proceed to actual hostilities. But the return of Capt. Andrews, who had been sent to the Persian Gulf, with one interloping ship and six Mughal vessels, which had been captured while sailing under Dutch colors,

¹ Bruce, Vol. II, p. 504. About 1,000,000lbs. of a sort of grain, may be some sort of rice.

made it impossible to conceal any longer the true state of affairs. Andrews was ordered to proceed to Surat, and in conjunction with the other English vessels there to prevent the departure of the fleet of the Siddi.

At this time Aurangzeb was carrying on operations in the Deccan, and the news reached Surat of his conquest of Bijapur and Golconda (1687). This meant that he would be able to direct his attention to affairs on the western coast, and perhaps take an active part in hostilities, either against the English at Bombay, or at Fort St. George. This station, however, managed to hold aloof from the war.

The conduct of Child at this crisis, although he had acted with considerable force and energy up to this time, is not so inexplicable as it may first appear. He endeavored to avoid open hostilities, and endeavored to attain his ends peaceably by negotiation. The appointment of a new governor at Surat, Muktar Khan, a nobleman of the highest rank and a relative of the Mughal, led him to hope for an amicable settlement of differences, especially as this governor had hitherto proven himself well dis-

posed toward the English. Bruce in the opening sentences of his narration of the events of 1688-9 says, " When the Court had determined to levy war upon Aurangzeb and had appointed Sir John Child to be General or superior of the whole of the Company's settlements, with the object of acquiring a fortified station in Bengal, they were ignorant of the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda and the decline of Sambhaji's power. " These events may have had their due weight with Child, who was beginning to realize what a task he had undertaken, and especially the unreasonableness of the undertaking. This may account for his endeavors to patch up some sort of a peace. It must be borne in mind, however, that Child assumed the whole responsibility of the war on the western coast, and offered in case of failure to stand forth as the scapegoat so that the English might not lose any prestige thereby.

Leaving Child and his attempts at negotiation with the new governor at Surat, it is time to examine the results of Sir Josiah Child's policy in Bengal. At the last mention of affairs

in that province Charnock was established on the site of Calcutta, awaiting the arrival of his vakil from the Nawab with a more favorable treaty. The Court of Directors had not been entirely satisfied with the trend of affairs, as is shown by their letters to Charnock and his associates. " We observe that you are so fond of peace that you would find contradictions in the king's and our orders, to cover your avarice and faintheartedness, where wiser men than yourselves can't see the least shadow of contradiction. " Nevertheless, the Court had not begun to despair of securing their ends, but write, " We will undauntedly pursue the war against the Mughal until we have a fortified settlement in Bengal upon as good terms as we hold Fort St. George or Bombay, whatever it cost us."-That fortified post which best suited their purpose was Chittagong. The Court of Directors emphatically declared that they were not such weak and unthinking men as to venture their estates in Bengal again in the hands of such false and rapacious villains without a strong fort at hand to revenge injuries. They feared, however, that their servants would be satisfied with a return to their former condition in the manner

1,2. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 73.

of the Israelites of old, hankering, as they did, after the onions and garlic of Egypt, and thereby deprive the Company of the fruit of all their expenditure in sending out snips men and money.

The letters of the Court at this time are somewhat contradictory. In some they express their determination to make the best of present conditions without renewing hostilities, while in others they censure the conduct of Charnock for dilatoriness in carrying out the original orders. There may have been a lack of harmony in the councils at London, or Sir Josiah Child may have regarded a fortified post at Sutanati as desirable as one at Chittagong, provided one could be secured there. Of the doings of Charnock and his council from the time of their arrival at Sutanati (toward the close of 1687) until the renewal of hostilities in 1688, no particulars are to be found in any of the documents of the time. On just what terms he was established there, it is impossible to state.

In the early months of 1688 (in January or February), the ship "Defence" and a frigate, commanded by Capt. Andrews,

had been despatched to Bengal under an extraordinary commission which placed him over Charnock in the management of affairs in the Bay. " They (the Court of Directors) could not have made a worse selection than in the case of the hot-headed, wrong-headed, capricious and futile featherbrained skipper whom they now sent to the Hugli, entrusted with such powers. " The Court in their letter to the council at Madras admitted that, owing to lack of information from the field of operations, they were almost utterly at loss to know what orders to give Heath and the council at Fort St. George. They had decided to rely to a great extent upon his judgement, which proved to be almost an unknown faculty, and in case their servants had concluded a peace and had not secured some fortified post, (it did not matter much whether it was Chittagong or not) it was to the Directors as if they had made no peace at all. In that case, Heath was to proceed against Chittagong, which, not being apprized of the coming of such a formidable foe, would be unable to withstand a bold attack. In case the post which had been secured by Charnock and his associates was

unsuitable for the purposes of the Company as a fortified seat of power, the Company's factors were to be placed on board the "Defence" and removed to Chittagong. It would seem that failure to capture this post was not reckoned upon in these instructions.

The two letters which set forth in detail the events which followed Capt. Heath's arrival at Sutanati are from the pens of Charnock and the captain himself. The accounts, therefore differ somewhat in character. Heath naturally sets forth his own conduct in the most favorable light. His actions, however, justified Yule's characterization of the man, "He may conjecture that bluster had got him this promotion, and that the promotion itself had turned his head." The Company's opinion of his actions may be inferred from the following extract from their annalist, "He acted from the impulse of his own feelings rather than in concert with the agent and council or in obedience to the Court's commands. By his imprudence he lost all the advantages which might have been obtained, and for a time the continuance of the Company

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 76.

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trade in the Ganges. " Orme terms him " a man of courage, but of

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a variable disposition, not far removed from craziness. "

Heath arrived in Balasor Road, 12, Sept., 1688, where he fell in with the "Princess of Denmark" and two of the Company's sloops. On Sept. 20th, he reached Sutanati, where he disclosed his instructions to the council and agent, and immediately displayed his authority and importance (on the authority of Charnock) by rejecting a proposition made by Charnock that each member of the council summoned to deliberate on the best course of action should write down their opinions apart, and that these should be the basis of further action. Although he had been enjoined to take the advice of the agents in Bengal, he practically disregarded all of their opinions, notwithstanding their better knowledge of the state of affairs, and decided to leave Calcutta as soon as possible. It mattered little to the captain that the agent and council were expecting an emissary from the Nawab, from whom they hoped to obtain favorable accommodations. His whole course of action is characterized by haste, impatience, and

1. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 647.

2. Orme, Hindostan, Vol. II, p.

utter disregard of the advice of those acquainted with native affairs. The 17th of November, therefore, found the Company's servants and possessions anchored in Ballasor Road. Three of the Company's servants were sent on shore at various times with messages, the contents of which were unknown to Charnock, but which he supposed were demands for the men and goods ashore. On the 27th these returned asserting that the governor had offered to enter into terms on the part of the Nawab, and as a guarantee of his willingness, was ready to send off to them all the goods and factors except two. The Nawab promised the English that if they would assist him with 1000 horse and 2000 foot in Arakan for 12 months gratis, he would accede to their demands in Bengal. The commissioners assured the native that they would do their best to bring about this result, and considerable good will was manifested on both sides. Heath, however, was not satisfied to await the outcome of this negotiation, but, notwithstanding the governor had threatened to put to death the Englishmen left ashore if an attack were made, and the fact that the two English factors at Dacca and in other parts of the adjoining country were exposed to danger, on the very next morning made preparations for an assault. When the governor was informed of these

intended hostilities, he assured Heath that a perfectly satisfactory perwanna was on its way there and would arrive in three days time, but the next day (the 29th) Heath moved upon the fortifications, and by doing this before attacking the town, gave the governor the opportunity of seizing the Englishmen in the town with the threat that as Capt. Heatd favored the town, so the English in his custody should be used. Still " grosser errors " (to quote Charnock's own letter) were committed. Parties went out and committed great outrages against friends and enemies. A Persian of high rank, a well-wisher to the Company, was shamefully maltreated, many of his women killed, and his eunuch captured. Wives and daughters of Christians who had taken sanctuary in the church were violated. The English factory on this occasion was burned by the governor and the Company's servants who had been previously taken prisoners were carried up country. Although communications arrived from the governor of Ballasor and the Nawab, by which Heatd was advised that the Nawab would not grant their requests till the agent had confirmed what Capt. Heatd by his letter to the Nawab had promised, and it began to look as if an accomodation of difficulties might be reached, Heatd could not wait but left for Chittagong about the 23d of

December, reaching Chittagong Road Jan. 17. Here a consultation was held as to the advisability of attacking the place, and "all things considered it was concluded in the negative." A letter was dispatched to the Nawab, although against the wishes of Heath, informing him of their arrival "purely to serve him." On this occasion Heath repudiated his promises of assisting the Nawab, affirming that there were "nothing but lies wrote on both sides." Disregarding the favorable reception which he met with and the prospects of arranging matters satisfactorily, Heath hurried off to Arakan the 31st of January. This move was in accordance with the instructions of the Court in case of a failure to take Chittagong. Following out the details of these instructions, proposals were made for a settlement in the dominions of the king of Arakan. These proposals were rejected and, as a last resort, Heath offered to assist a revolted chief against his liege lord. This offer met with favor and might have secured for him the object of his expedition, but "the same impatience in this as in preceding cases marked the conduct of this officer." Again, he would not await the issue, but weighed anchor for Fort St. George, where he arrived with the agent and council of Bengal

and all the Company's effects March 4, 1689. Charnock comments on Heath's conduct as follows, " Capt. Heath, tripping from port to port without effecting anything, hath not only rendered our nation ridiculous, but hath unhinged all treaties, by which means the trade of Bengal will be very difficult to be ever regained."¹

Orme asserts that Heath's conduct, crazy and irregular as it was, produced better effects than could have been expected " from measures dictated by the most prudent councils," and that the Nawab was thoroughly convinced by his actions that the English did not care whether they traded in that province or not.² Fearing the wrath of his superior Aurangzeb, if he permitted so valuable a trade to slip through his hands, he immediately sought Charnock to return to Hugli, " promising all the immunities, the denial of which had been the cause of the late contentions."³ Charnock, accompanied by his factors and thirty soldiers, immediately set sail for Sutanati, where they arrived in July or August (1690). The following year a firman was obtained from Aurangzeb for a trade custom free on condition that the annual sum of 3000 rupees be paid.

1. Hedges, Vol. II, p. 85. 3. Orme, Hindostan, Vol. II, p. 14.
2. Orme, Hindostan, Vol. II, p. 14.

Stewart's account of the events which followed Charnock's arrival at Madras differ in some of the essential points. He says that it was the appointment of a new Nivao for the government of Bengal, Ibrahim Khan, a man of strict justice and a believer in the advantages of trade and agriculture, which had considerable to do with the liberation of the Company's agents who were confined at Dacca, and the restoration of the English. Then too, although Aurangzeb had commanded the expulsion of the English from all parts of his dominions, "he always made his passions subservient to his policy and was sensible that he derived a considerable aid to his revenue by the commerce carried on by the English, also that their ships of war could much annoy his subjects and prevent all intercourse between his dominions and Arabia, thereby putting a stop to the pilgrims visiting Mecca," and therefore entered into negotiations for peace. These were doubtless the real causes of the return of the English. "Now did Joo Charnock for the third and last time pitch his tabernacle in whatever form here on the fated site of Calcutta," but in regard to his doing here for the next three years, the documents of the time are comparatively silent.

1: Stewart, Bengal, p. 325.

2: Hedges, Vol. II, p. 87.

While these events were being transacted in Bengal, affairs on the western coast were not meeting the expectation of the Court in London. It is true that Sir John Child had negotiated a provisional treaty of peace with Mukhtar Khan, the new native governor of Surat based largely on the thirty five articles of grievance, and it had been stipulated that the English should pay but two percent customs instead of three and one half, which had been formerly exacted. This seeming success had elicited much praise from the Court in London as well as a substantial token of their appreciation in the shape of 1000 guineas. This trivial success acted upon the Court in London like strong brandy, and called for the following letter with regard to the possession of St. Thome, under the date of Aug. 27, 1688, "The subjects of the Mughal cannot bear a war with the English for twelve months together without starving and dying by thousands for want of work to purchase rice; not singly for want of our trade, but because by our war we obstruct their trade with all Eastern nations, which is ten times as much as ours and all European nations put together ... We conclude that the Mughal's governors will never give us fresh provocations or deny you St. Thome." Bruce affirms that considerable justice that the un-

uncertainty of the situation of the Company at home made the Court of Directors regard this treaty between Sir John Child and the governor of Surat as of more consequence than it appeared to be when the Court were first informed of it.

But the hopes of the Child were doomed to disappointment. The treaty was found to be a mere artifice to gain time, either until the governor could learn the status quo of the English in Bengal or receive further instructions from the emperor. Child, suspecting this duplicity, embarked at Bombay on the 9th of October, 1688, and appeared before Surat with seven ships, hoping to frighten the governor into adhering to the treaty. Although at this time an opportunity was afforded a part or all of the Mughal's fleet under the command of the Sidi, which lay in the neighborhood, Child did not think it advisable to offer such an affront to Aurangzeb on account of his successes in the Deccan, and the consequent danger to which Fort St. George was exposed, and because he feared that all hopes of negotiation would be ruined by such a course of action. His quarrel was with the governor at Surat rather than with Aurangzeb, who up to this time had found considerable to occupy his attention in controlling his own sub-

jects. Low comments on this course of action as follows, "Thus as has so often happened when civil commissioners have hampered the action of military or naval commanders, the honor of the Service and of the British name, and as eventually appeared in this instance, the interests of his master were sacrificed to political exigencies." This show of force was unavailing. Mukhtar Khan soon threw off the mask of friendship which he had assumed, and on the 26th of December, 1833, seized and imprisoned Mr. Harris and Mr. Gladman, the factors at Surat, confiscated the Company's goods, and offered a large reward for seizing Sir John Child alive or dead.

Bruce declares that it was Child's measure of leaving Mr. Harris at Surat to preserve the Company's house and property, and to avail himself of any opportunity presented of opening negotiations with the governor which was the cause of the ultimate failure of all the plans for which the war had been commenced. However this may be, it is certain that Child spent quite a little valuable time in endeavoring to provide for the safety of the factors and goods in Surat. Although he perceived his inability to impress the governor of Surat with the seriousness of his in-

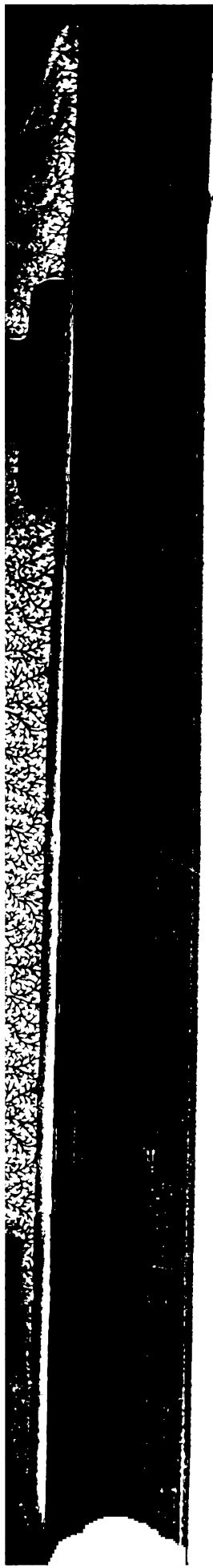
tentions, he nevertheless continued off Swally in the hope of finding some means of rescuing Harris and his council. Finding this impossible, he returned to Bombay, and while on his way there captured 40 of the Mughal's convoy of trading vessels. He merely detained the ships, awaiting an answer to a letter which he dispatched to Aurangzeb, representing his own pacific disposition and complaining of the false and oppressive conduct of Mukhtar Khan, adding that he had twice gone to Swally to prove his readiness to accede to any reasonable accommodation.

Hamilton who writes from a personal knowledge of the events, affirms that Sir John Child seized these vessels against the advice of the greater part of his council. The sea officers were also opposed to the measure. Capt. Hillier, the eldest, advised Child not to "meddle with the corn fleet because it would straiten the army, and force them to look abroad for provisions, where it might best be procured, and perhaps might affect Bombay, which was in a great measure beholden to their neighbors for sustenance and firewood." Here again too much confidence cannot be placed in Hamilton, who cannot find any good thing in Child. Lev is evidently following Hamilton, when he concludes,

1. Hamilton, New Account, p. 213.

" However, with the PRESUMPTION and FACILITY that marked all his proceedings, Sir John refused to act on the advice of this experienced officer."

While matters were in this situation, the fleet of the Sili, Yakoob Khan, consisting of 11 ships and 70 galivats, was Dania-Rajapur. Inasmuch as it was reported that the Sili intended to invade the island, a proceeding which would not be entirely unexpected in the face of events, Child intimated that any movement whatsoever of this fleet would be regarded as hostile to Bombay and he would therefore consider him as an enemy. At this time Child addressed a letter to Fort St. George ^{the President and Council} blaming ~~them~~ ^{there} for their conduct in making overtures to the Nagal for a treaty, as though they feared the issue of the war. It was just such conduct as this which encouraged the violent proceeding against the Company at Surat. (Had Child wielded the sword at this crisis with as much vigor as his pen, he might not have had occasion to blame his associates for imitating his own conduct.) He assured the Court in London that he was resolved to continue hostilities and " by no means to yield to the dishonorable expedient



of purchasing a peace.¹" He would delay attacking the Sidi's fleet as long as the safety of Bombay would admit, because he was unwilling to irritate the Mughal too much, as the conquest of Golconda and Bijapur, and the probable reduction of Sambhaji's country had increased his power considerably since the war first arose. The conquest of Salsette, which had been suggested by the Court, would be impossible at this time, as there were not enough soldiers to defend that island, or even Bombay. The native troops began to desert on the very first intimation of the approach of the Sidi's fleet.

These events conclude the first stage of the war on the western coast, what may be called the offensive stage. Thus far the proceedings of Sir John Child had not been carried out with-
out some little degree of success. Thenceforth he met with nothing but disaster, and this was largely due to his belief, which he evidently held from the very outbreak of hostilities that a very little show of power would accomplish his ends. The fleet of the Sidi soon manifested its hostility, but, owing to the absence of a part of the English ships which had sailed for Europe, or from other causes, Child did not attack, but was content to

1. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 634.

maintain a defensive attitude behind the wall of Bombay Castle. This fort was built on a point of rocks that jutted out into the sea, and stood within 800 paces of a hill called Dungere, which overlooked it. It was in the shape of a regular tetragon, whose outward polygon was about 500 paces, and was built of good hard stone, and capable of mounting 100 pieces of cannon.

The fleet of the Sidi accordingly made several descents upon the island, capturing Mazagon, Mahim, and Sian. The fort of Mazagon was captured on the morning of the 18th. Although so situated that the sea defended three sides of it, its defenders fled with so much haste that eight or ten chests of treasure, containing about 1000 £ each, were abandoned to the enemy. Four chests of new arms, fourteen cannon, two mortars, some powder shot and shells also fell into the hands of the enemy. The fort at Mahim was abandoned before the enemy came in sight. This became the headquarters of the Sidi. The next day some of the enemy appeared on the hills in the neighborhood of this fort," and it (in the words of Hamilton) grieved our General's righteous soul to see infidels come so near him in an hostile manner.

1. Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 184.

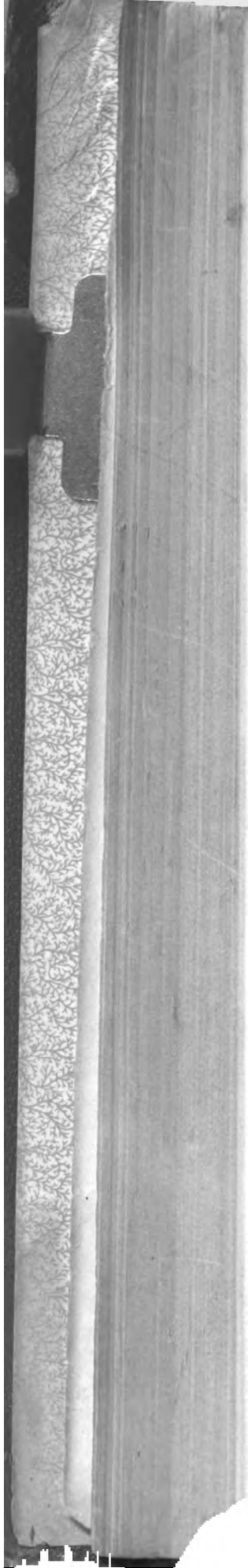
2. do. p. 219.

ingly dispatched a certain Capt. Pean, " who was no better soldier than himself," with two companies of about seventy men each, to dislodge the enemy from their position. But part of the English force broke at the approach of the natives, who outnumbered them ten to one, and the valiant Pean was foremost in the retreat and ran so fast that he did not stop to look back to see what had become of his men until he had reached a place of safety. A certain lieutenant Monro bravely withstood the attack with those who remained, some fourteen men, but they were cut to pieces. Hamilton characterizes Pean as " a fellow as well made for running as any I ever saw. " ² Such was the singular absence of discipline and order among the English forces. A certain Capt. Consett, of the " Berkley Castle ", refused to cooperate with the garrison, and desertion soon manifested itself among the English troops. This drew from Child the discouraging statement that " the loss of one European was of more consequence than the death of one hundred blacks." ³ Again and again, previous to the outbreak of the war, the Court in London had urged the necessity of adequate

1. Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 219.

2. Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 221.

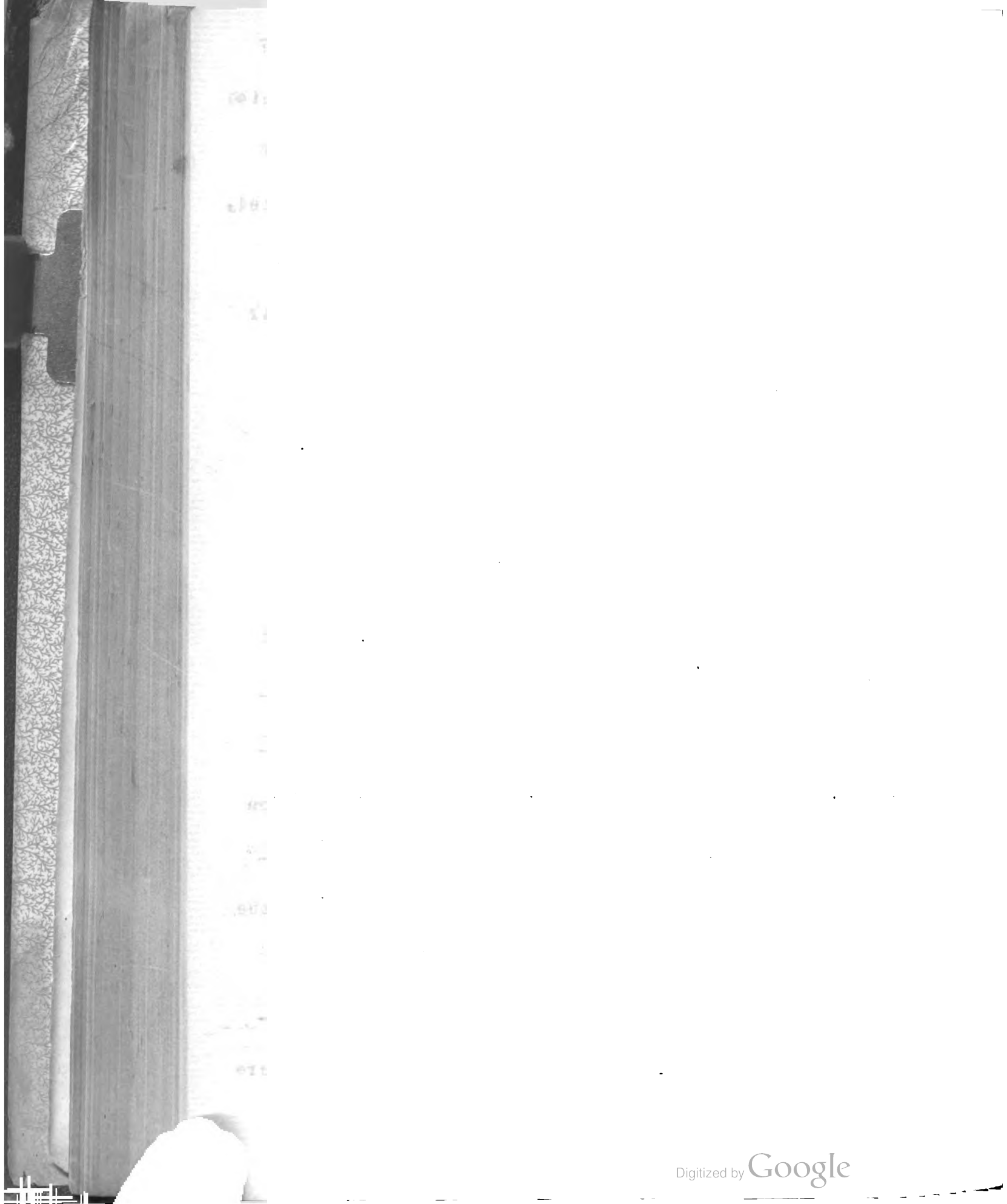
3. Bruce, Vol. II, p. 333.



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fortifications and an efficient military system in Bombay by which the Company might be prepared to hold its own in case of a war with any Indian power, but these orders were evidently neglected, notwithstanding the fact that the dangers which follow such an absence of discipline were significantly brought home to Sir John Child and his associates by that almost ruinous mutiny of 1683.

The Governor and his garrison, which amounted to only 2,500 men, of whom only a small part were Europeans, were so closely besieged in Bombay Castle that they would have been forced into a surrender through lack of provisions, had it not been for the effective service of some of the Company's cruisers which supplied the wants of the garrison by capturing provision ships belonging to the Mughal and his subjects. Hamilton was forced into the service at this time and made several captures of this character. His description of the condition of the Company and its affairs is relied upon for the main facts. The months from April to September were spent "very ill, for provisions grew scarce by the addition of 3000 Sevajees, that were



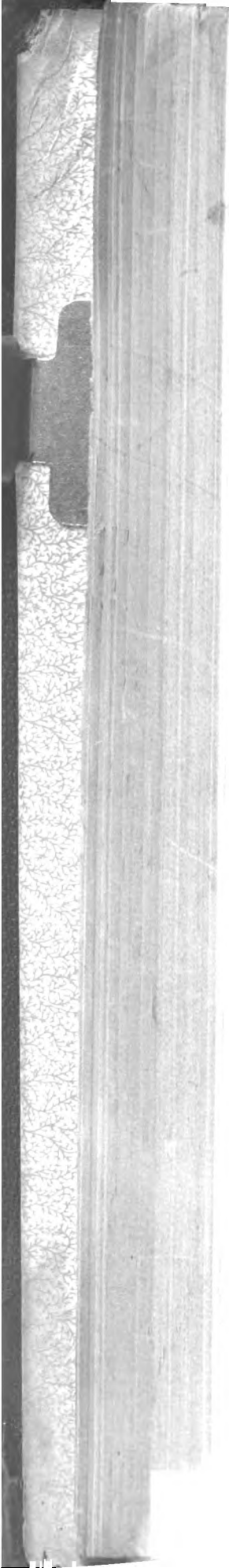
employed as auxiliaries in the military service of the Company."¹
 He accused the administration of plundering the cruisers which
 brought in provisions. "When we brought our prizes in, our chests
 were severely searched, and if we saved any of our pay, it was
 seized for the Company's use, as money we had found in the prizes
 which made us careless in pursuing the enemy at sea."²

The appointment of a new governor at Surat (Ettimand
 Khan) gave Sir John renewed hopes of effecting a settlement,
 but these negotiations do not seem to have met with any success.
 On the 10th of December, 1689, Child despatched Mr. Weldon and
 Mr. Navarro accompanied by Hoan Nizamy an eminent merchant, to
 the Mughal's camp at Bijapur, to endeavor to open negotiations
 for a treaty of peace, and to obtain a firman for the restoration
 of their privileges of trade and the recovery of the property
 which had been seized by Mukhtar Khan. " It was the ill success
 we had assure that made our General sick. " ³ Unfortunately for
 the English, these negotiations were entered upon at a most un-
 favorable moment, as Aurangzeb had just captured Rairi Castle

1: Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 223.

2. do p. 223.

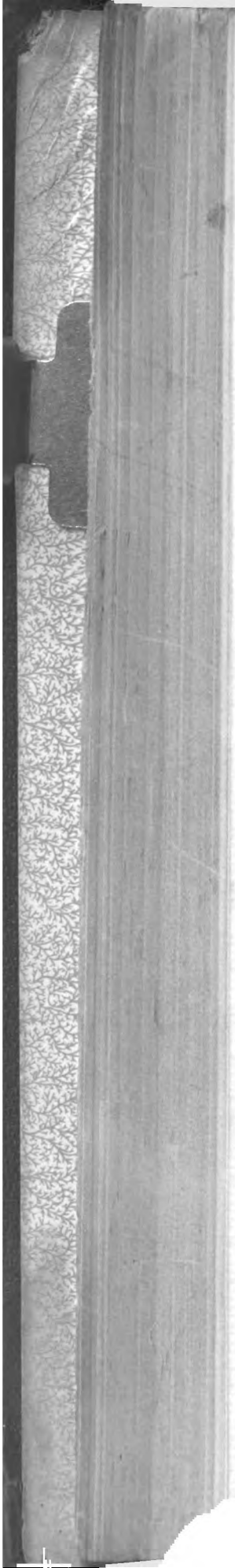
3. do p. 224.



and seized the family and treasure of Shivaji, and that chief-tain had been forced to flee for his life, no one knew where. From Aurangzeb's conduct toward the Portuguese, it was also evident that he had determined to reduce the European Maritime Powers to a positive dependence on his authority.

In the meantime, little by little, the island of Bombay yielded to the Sihi, and the English retained only the Castle and about half a mile to the southward of the castle. The Sihi "raised batteries on Durgera Hill, which overlooked the fort wall and disturbed the garrison very much; then he put four great guns in the Custom House, commonly called the India House, and raised a battery at the Woody's House, within 200 paces of the fort, and another in the lady's house he had been so unkind to, so that it was dangerous to go out or in at the Castle gate, till we got up an 'half moon' battery before it." Just at this crisis, before the return of the ambassadors sent to treat with the Moghal, Sir John Child died at Bombay on the 4th of February, 1689, and the Presidency devolved upon Mr. Harris, who was still a prisoner at Surat, and the Deputy Governorship of Bombay on Mr. Vaux.

1: Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 225.



On the 6th of March, Mr. Vank proceeded to Surat to await the arrival of the firman which the commissioners had obtained from the Emperor. This document reached him on Apr. 4th, 1690, and was followed by the release of Mr. Harris and the other servants of the Company from their irons. If Hamilton may be relied upon, *these* unfortunate men were made to suffer every indignity possible without being subjected to actual violence. They were paraded through the streets with irons about their necks amid the hisses and scoffs of the native population, who enjoyed the spectacle of seeing the English brought down so low.

The imperial firman was also followed by the evacuation of Bombay by the Sidi's army on the 8th of June, on the payment of a fine of 13000 £. According to Hamilton he left behind a terrible plague which wrought havoc among the garrison. But the unhealthiness of Bombay previous to this war is attested by other authorities. A plague raged there as early as 1686, and the servants of the Company complained of their lack of medicines. The terms of the treaty are referred to by Bruce as "an arbitrary act of despotism toward the English ... It was expressed in terms

and with conditions more humiliating and more oppressive than any which had occurred from the first settlement of an English factory in India. The Company were now to be admitted, not as subjects of an independent sovereign or as having a retreat at Bombay, but as criminals whose chief had been proscribed, and themselves admitted to live in vassalage or slavery, only. " 1:

The translation of the decree, dated 27 Feb., 1699-90, is as follows: " All the English having made a most humble, submissive petition, that the crimes they have done may be pardoned, and requested another firman, to make their being forgiven manifest, and sent their veheels to the heavenly palace, the most illustrious in the world, to get the royal favor: and Ettimand Khan the Governor of Surat's petition to the famous court, equal to the sky being arrived, that they would present to the great King with a fine of 150,000 rupees to his most noble treasury resembling the sun, and would restore the merchants' goods they had taken away, to the owners of them, and would walk by the ancient customs of the port and behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner; therefore, His Majesty ac-

1: Bruce, Vol. II, p. 339.

cording to his duly favor to all the people of the world, hath
 pardoned their faults, mercifully forgiven them, and out of his
 princely condescension agrees, that the present be put into the
 treasury of the port, the merchants' goods be returned, the town
 flourish and they follow their trade, as in former times, and
 Mr. Child who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled. This
 order is irreversible." Every one may not agree with Bruce in
 his statements that Child's death was a distinct disaster for the
 English cause in western India, since he by his firmness and in-
 tegrity had been the main support of the Company's interests in
 India, and was the only man capable of extricating them from the
 difficulties in which they were involved, and further the fact
 that Aurangzeeb made the peace depend upon his dismissal from the
 service was a splendid testimonial of his services on behalf of
 the London East India Company.

In 1690-91, the new governor of Bombay sent home a re-
 port of the condition of the Company's fortifications and garri-
 son. He affirmed that the ruinous and neglected state of their for-

tifications had encouraged the Sidi to make the attack and disembark troops without the Mughal's order. Had the fortifications been sufficiently strong, more favorable terms might have been granted by the imperial firman. The conquest of the island had been prevented by the jealousy of Mukhtyar Khan, who feared the influence this would give to the Sidi. The garrison had been reduced to thirty five English soldiers through the ravages of a pestilence. He asked for a supply of civil servants and a large reinforcement of soldiers.

Although Fort St. George was not drawn into the war which was being waged on the western coast, the factory of the Company was exposed to constant danger by the proximity of Mughal forces. In 1689, Aurangzeb had issued orders for the expulsion of the English from his dominions, and acting under these orders, an officer and a considerable force were sent to take the English factory at Vizagapatam. These forces arrived about the 13th of October, 1689, and the next morning surrounded the factory and made known their errand. The English factors said that they could not

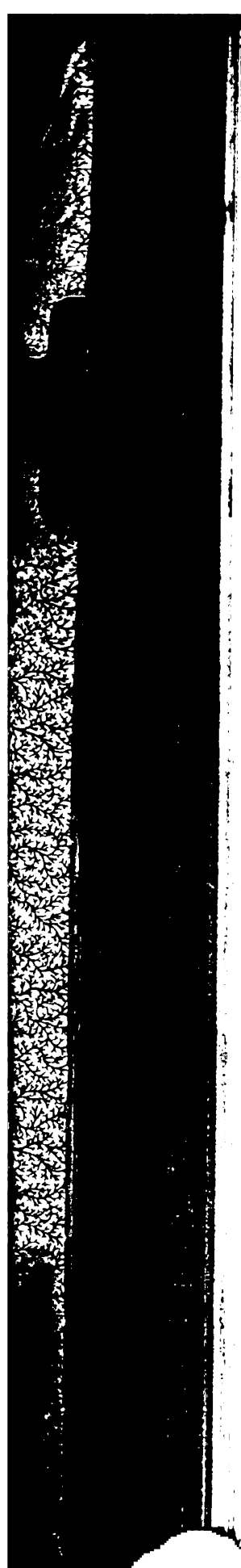
1: Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 103-4.



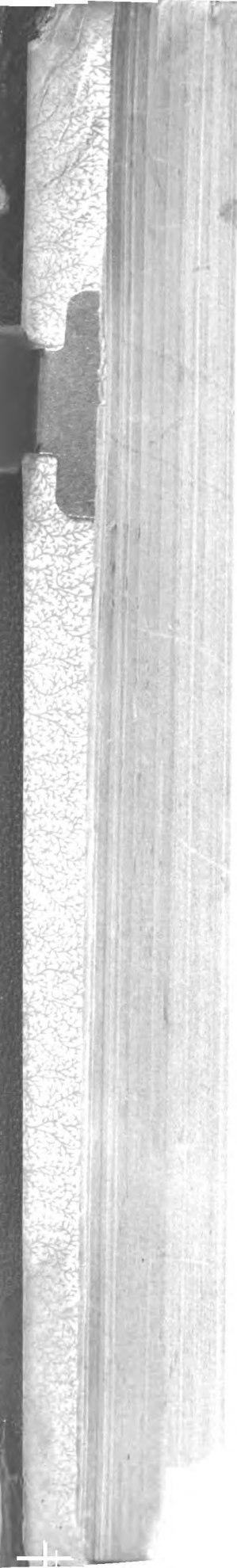
abandon the factory without orders from their chief. Then as one of the Rajputs was taking the chief factor by the hand, and endeavoring to pull him out of the house, a Mr. Hall fired his blunderbuss and killed three of their men. Thereupon Mr. Hall, Mr. Stables, and Mr. Croker were murdered, the remainder taken prisoners, and their goods seized. At this time the factory at Masulipatam was seized by the native governor, but it was hoped that a settlement could be reached with him without much trouble. A cawle for the Madras settlements, including the English factories of Masulipatam, Madapollam, Vizagapatam, etc., was granted some months after the imperial firman (28 Dec., 1690) and was issued by Zulfiqar Khan, the Mughal general in the Deccan.

The evil effects upon their affairs in India of this unsuccessful attempt of the Company to vindicate its rights cannot be overestimated. Not only was their trade throughout India ruined by the attempt, for it was impossible to provide investments during such unsettled times, but an even greater disaster had been inflicted upon the English in the loss of their prestige.

1. Wheeler, Madras Records, Vol. I, p. 214; Annals of Vizagapatam, p. 185.



and from this they were not to recover for many years. In the meantime another European nation was to make a similar trial and almost succeed in wresting the control of India from its subsequent possessors. With this first unsuccessful attempt at erecting an English empire in India, the Company sank back into a state of obedience and submission to the native powers. Only here and there did an English governor venture to question the advisability of granting all their demands. A generation of traders succeeded this generation of statesmen and warriors. Although Sir Josiah Child continued to exercise a powerful influence over his associates in the London East India Company, the failure of this cherished scheme ended all his attempts to carry out his ideas of what the London East India Company ought to represent in India. Henceforth, with a few exceptions, it was to represent a number of traders, even to the time of Clive (1757), and he, too, like Sir Josiah, was to be cursed rather than praised for abandoning the sphere of a mere merchant's clerk, buying and selling Indian commodities.



The first reports which had reached England of the results of this struggle for recognition were most favorable. The Gazette represented the English nation as having secured an advantageous and honorable peace, but when the real state of affairs became known, the Company, and especially Sir Josiah Child, came in for a shower of maledictions, both oral and written. The "despot of Leadenhall St. (as Macaulay terms him) was libelled in prose and verse." This disaster had much to do with the formation of the English East India Company. It focused, as it were, all the opposition, which had been unable hitherto to obtain a lever powerful enough to actually build up a rival association. The London Company had fallen into disrepute, and therefore the task of bringing together the enemies of the Company into an organized opposition became much easier. In 1691, under the influence of the clamor which had arisen against the mismanagement and miscarriages of the London Company the House of Commons addressed King William to dissolve the Company and to incorporate a new one. The king replied that, "it being a matter of great impor-

tance, it required some time to consider their address." In the meantime, the matter was transferred to the privy council for consideration. The following year, when the Commons again addressed the king for dissolving the Company, he replied that this could not be done without three years notice being given, and the settlement of this trade was referred to parliament. Eventually, the English Company came into being as the result of these deliberations.

While the war with the Mughal was at its height, the Company published an account of the state of their trade, in which they affirmed that within the last seven years they had built 13 ships of from 900 to 1300T. each; in place of Bantam they had erected and garrisoned three forts in other parts of India for the pepper trade; they had now at sea in India and coming home 11 ships and 4 permission ships whose cargoes amounted to above £ 880,000; they had 7 ships and 3 permission ships all for the Coast and Bay whose cargoes amounted to near £ 570,

1: Macpherson, Vol. II, pp. 848-50.

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000, and for the trade to the farther East, 7 ships with cargoes amounting to about 100,000£, besides about 30 small armed vessels constantly remaining in India. The goods which remained unsold in India amounted to £700,000. They emphasized the advantages which had accrued to them by their removal to Bombay, saying that they had brought there the principal part of the trade of Surat, and the population of the town had increased from 4000 to 50,000 families. They represented their war with the Mughal as most successful, saying that he had been brought to reasonable terms, which were confirmed by his own firman. It would seem that Sir Josiah Child had been attempting to maintain the commercial standing of the Company at home by publishing this very pompous view of their condition. Granting that these facts can be relied upon, the real effect of the war can be more thoroughly appreciated. The Company had sunk very low indeed. Bruce, the eulogist of the Company himself admits that trade was ruined both at Bombay and in Bengal, and he would naturally be more anxious to place the Company in a favorable rather than an unfavorable light.

CHAPTER VII.

REVIEW OF THE CHILD PERIOD IN INDIAN AFFAIRS- WERE THE
 CHILDS ENLIGHTENED STATESMEN WHO FORESAW THE FUTURE, OR WERE
 THEY WRONG-HEADED AND IMPERIOUS MERCHANTS WHO NEARLY WRECKED THE
 ENGLISH CAUSE IN INDIA?

Of the various men who have taken some active part in
 the building up and formation of the English power in the East,
 none have been more maligned, or their place in the history of
 the developement of the English in India, so utterly disregarded
 by historians, as Sir Josiah and Sir John Child. It is incon-
 ceivable that two men of such influence and power, (as these men
 undoubtedly were) over the minds and persons of their fellow

men should have taken such a predominant part in Indian politics, without leaving some record worthy of being transmitted to posterity, even if that record consisted largely of crimes and enormities. True history consists of an arrangement of ALL the facts bearing on a period or century, with a due regard for the proportion of each incident, but when a history fails utterly to even mention, or at the most devotes but a paragraph to the work of two men who in their lines of policy were the forerunners of such men as Clive and Hastings, about whom hundreds of volumes have been written, such a compilation of events is not worthy the name of a true history. This thesis has been written in vain, if the importance of the period from 1680 to 1690 has not been shown. It was a period fraught with exciting events, the facts of which were the outcome of a policy whose very stupendousness should at least claim recognition. The fact that so many writers of secondary histories agree in discarding all the records of the London East India Company

before the time of Clive, and especially such momentous periods as that dominated by the Childs may be due to a great extent to the fact that such writers as Hamilton, followed by Anderson, endeavor to show the insignificance of the work of such men by emphasizing and attacking their weaknesses with all the violence of sarcasm and invective. It is a relief and a pleasure to turn to a few books like J. Talboys Wheeler's " Madras in the Olden Time " or Robert Grant's " History of the East India Company," which condescend to notice, nay even see some sparks of statesmanship in men who have been characterized as wrong-headed imperious merchants. Wheeler says, in noting the contents of one of the letters from the Court in London to their servants at Madras during this period, " The man who wrote these pregnant sentences may have had a hard heart and an ungovernable temper, but we say EMPHATICALLY that his head was the head of a statesman. His reproofs were sharp, but they were the dictates of genius, and not the impertinence of a mere official." And again, he writes, The

1: Wheeler, Madras Records, vol. 1 & p. 198.

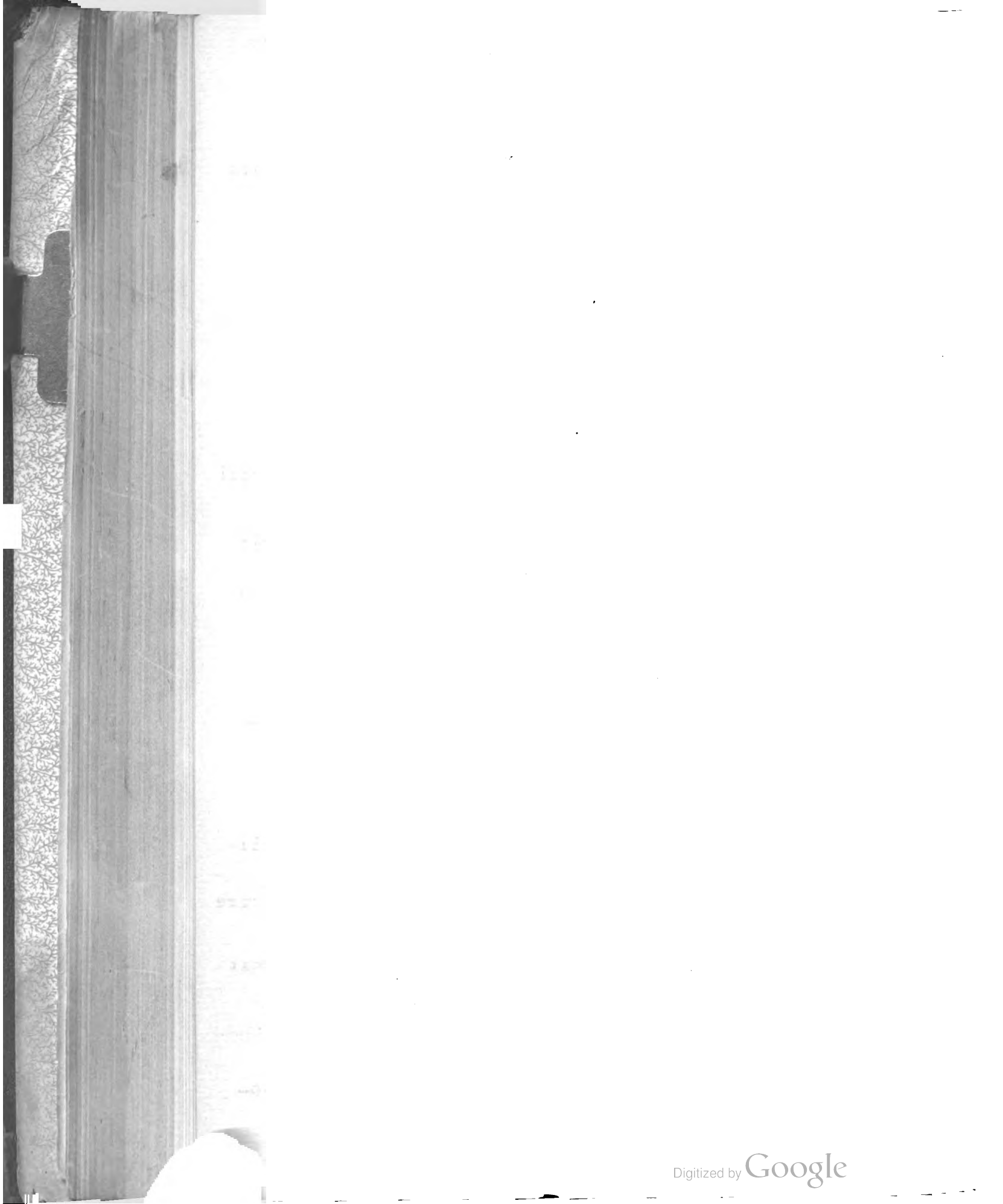
genius of this man is stamped upon the records of the time. Here and there we alight upon passages from his pen so pregnant with political wisdom, that we frequently regret that our task is confined to unfolding the domestic annals of the Madras Presidency, rather than to reviewing the whole history of British India." It is truly to be regretted that Wheeler did not undertake the task of becoming the biographer of Sir Josiah Child, for although he did not claim to be a historian, the result of his labors might have given us an interesting and important mass of material for the further study and ultimate appreciation of the work of this great chairman.)

In giving a man his place in history, it is not necessary it is even a proof of bad scholarship, to characterize him as little less than an angel or a fiend incarnate. The pages of history like an account book have their debit and credit side. What must be the aim of true history is to properly weigh, sift and arrange the evidence bearing on the life and work of any individual, and

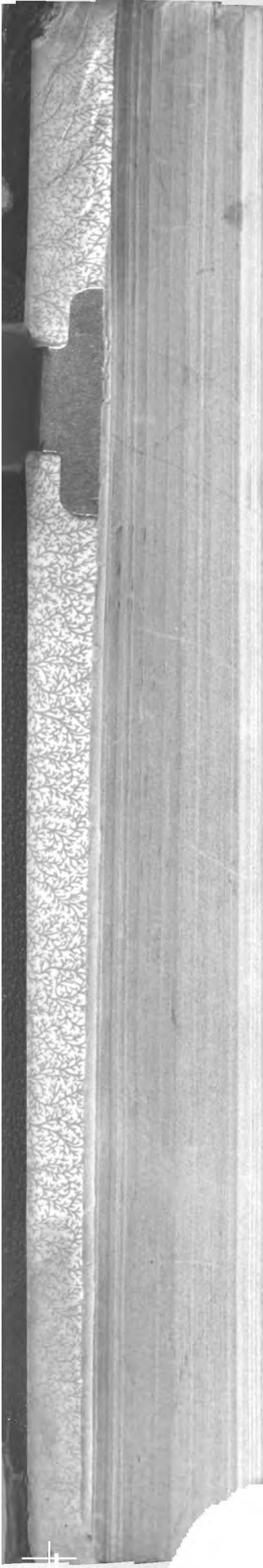
on the basis of this material, gathered from every quarter, from both partisans and enemies, recognize and assign to him his true place in the history of the times in which he lived.

Sir Josiah Child's work as a political economist concerns the student of history only in this, that in his writings he gives evidence of a mind which grasped the great thought of English statesmen of the 17th century, the idea of the commercial expansion and almost world-domination of England. His hopes and prophecies of the future are in themselves proofs of no ordinary mind. But it is not in this respect that Sir Josiah Child has been assailed, but his work in this field has rather been commended, and this point, therefore, concerns one but little.

The unnatural coloring which has been given to his policy and work seems to have been due to just two things, his desire to make the Company a true monopoly, and his, to the men of that time, incomprehensible policy of making an English empire in India FOR ALL TIME TO COME. Few of Sir Josiah Child's contempo-



raries understood him. Burnet, in his notice of Sir Josiah Child's death in 1699, sums up his life's work as follows, " He was a man of great notions as to merchandise, which was his education, and in which he succeeded beyond any man of his time; he applied himself chiefly to the East India trade, which by his management was raised so high that it drew much envy and jealousy both upon himself and upon the Company; he had a compass of knowledge and comprehension beyond any merchant I ever knew; he was vain and covetous, and thought too cunning, though to me he seemed always sincere." This is an estimate of the man as expressed by an unbiased contemporary, but it amounts to but little in an endeavor to give Sir Josiah Child his true place in history. It shows, however, about how far his life work was appreciated by contemporaries. It was utterly inconceivable to the men of that time, even to those who were most thoroughly acquainted with Indian politics that Sir Josiah Child should desire to go to the trouble of waging an expensive and dangerous



war against so powerful an antagonist as Aurangzeb. But, as has been pointed out before, Sir Josiah Child saw the trend of affairs, was wide awake, as it were, to the signs of the times, and, believing he saw the possibility, nay even the necessity, of carrying out a successful war of vindication in India, embarked upon that disastrous campaign with all the vigor of his strong and energetic character. That he did not rush into hostilities, except after due deliberation of the matter was shown before. It is true conditions were far different from those seventy years later, when Clive wrested the power from the hands of a Mughal emperor. Although everything pointed to a dissolution of the great Muhammadan empire at the death of Aurangzeb, yet while he lived he proved himself to be more than a match for his enemies. The attempt, therefore was premature, but there certainly was no lack of provocation. Then, too, as Grant points out, Sir Josiah had seen the Dutch successful in just such attempts to vindicate

their rights in the East, but he appears to have overlooked the different conditions in which the English were placed. He soon found out that there was a vast difference between attacking the monarch or petty king of a small island and the ruler of a vast empire. A careful student of this period would not endeavor to justify every act or every line of policy carried out by Sir Josiah Child and his brother. There is a debit as well as a credit side to the career of Sir Josiah. What one would insist upon, and insist upon it strenuously is to have more of the credit side and not ALL DEBIT. Sir Josiah Child possessed an imperious will and a harsh and unyielding disposition, but his words and his acts must be termed the dictates of genius. Just as no one admires or praises the love of pomp and display which mars the character of the great Lord Chatham, so no one would seek for one moment to justify or overlook Child's mistakes.

Sir Josiah Child's desire to preserve the Company's monopoly was natural. Child was a born trader, and no one ventures



to deny that up to the time of the war with the Mughal, his commercial management of the Company left nothing to be desired. The profits on stock were something enormous. But with the increasing wealth of the Company came the natural envy of those who were shut out from the lucrative business of trading on their private account. All writers on political economy agree, as was shown in the discussion of Child's policy, that a monopoly of trade is necessary in the conduct of such an enterprise as the London Company. Child, therefore was justified in his policy of excluding interlopers. Although in this line of policy he followed the Dutch, he was wise enough to see that "what is fit for one nation to do in relation to their trade is not fit for all," and instead of applying Dutch laws, which made a deserter or interloper liable to capital punishment, "aimed at little beyond a strict execution of the powers already vested in the Company by the somewhat questionable authority of their charters."

1: Grant, History of London Company, p. 100.

Another minor charge against Sir Josiah Child is his arbitrary and seemingly imperial conduct of Indian affairs. He is said to have enforced laws of his own, as it were, over the Company's settlements, and a letter is cited in which he terms the laws of England a heap of nonsense, etc. This point is probably much exaggerated, and there is further some question as to the authenticity of the document which is cited by the enemies of the Childs. A letter was quoted on p. 107 in which a sentiment somewhat akin to such an attitude is expressed, but in this point Child was only acting under the authority of the charters which had empowered the London Company to enact and enforce laws conformable to reason, and "as near as might be" agreeable to the constitution of England.

The discussion of Sir John Child's place in the history of this period, and the larger sphere of the English in India, has been purposely reserved until the last. The main figure of the period was Sir Josiah Child. Sir John was undoubtedly an in-

1: Grant, History of London Company, p. 107.

ferior man to his brother. He was the expression, as it were, of his brother in India. He has been charged with even greater and darker crimes. This was probably due to the distance from England of his field of operations. When communication between the East and West was so difficult, it was easy for interloping merchants travelling between England and India to endow such a man with a reputation which was by no means enviable. There can be no doubt that whatever mistakes Sir John Child committed in India were carefully concealed, or if they became known, were quietly ignored through the efforts and influence of his brother. It was certainly good policy for these two men to cooperate in this manner, especially if Sir Josiah wished any line of his policy to meet with success in India. One is not attracted toward Sir John. There are several reasons for this, and the main one is the fact that so little is known of his real character, and even this trifling knowledge rests upon the authority of violent



partisans or bitter enemies. It is much harder to sympathize ^{with} or appreciate the work of a man born in India, and surrounded all through life with conditions utterly foreign to western ideas.

Sir John Child made many mistakes, not the least of which was the temporizing policy which he pursued in the war with the Mughal.

But even in this he was wonderfully like Dupleix, who was more of a statesman than a soldier. The principal accusation against Sir John arose from alleged persecutions of several celebrated interlopers on the western coast, and although he may have exerted too much rigor in some of these cases, as in that of Thornburn, he was only following out lines of policy which commend themselves to careful investigators. One would not endeavor to justify the means employed to bring about his ends, (if these charges be true, and it must be borne in mind that they rest largely on the authority of Hamilton) but the sound policy which underlay the whole conduct of affairs during this period MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN

All that one would ask for the Childs and this period is RECOGNITION. The events, the men, demand this. One may assert with confidence that when more material becomes accessible, and thereby a greater light is thrown upon these affairs, historians who now regard early Indian history as of little or no account will delve into these comparatively untreated periods as into a veritable mine of knowledge. Not alone wonder, but even admiration for the men of these times will be the result.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH

EAST INDIA COMPANY

1698-1708.

THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

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BACHELOR OF ARTS

- BY -

ANNA MARTIN PUGSLEY.

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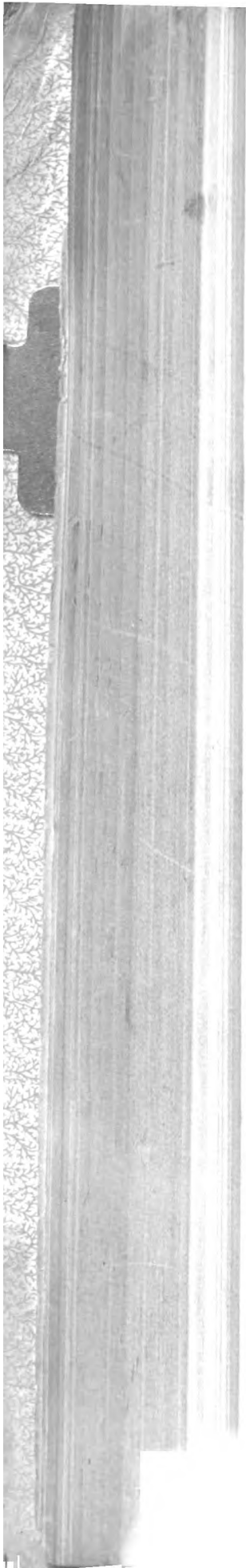
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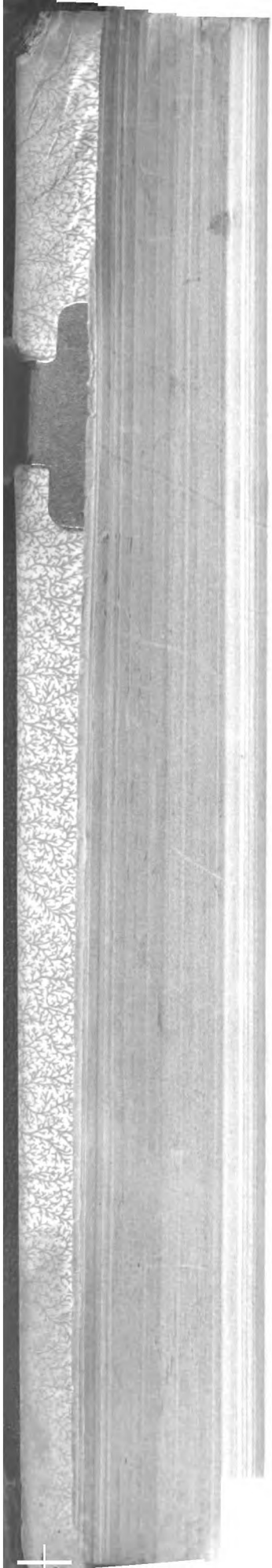
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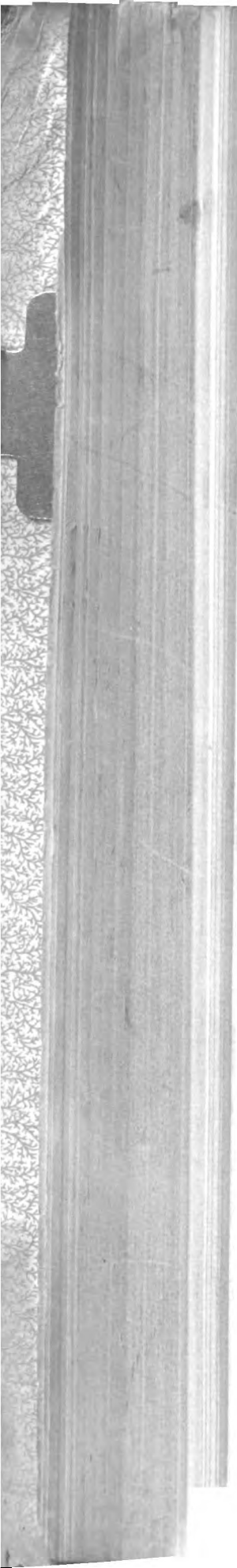
CHAPTER 1.

THE UNPOPULARITY OF THE LONDON EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The English East India Company arose primarily out of the opposition to monopolies which has for so long a time been an important factor in English politics; and which is still a burning question.

Scarcely had Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to a "Company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies" in 1600, when various complaints were made. These first objections, however, did not proceed so much from the fact that the public was excluded from any share in the traffic, as from the exportation of bullion.¹ "They objected that it would impoverish the country by exporting gold and silver in exchange for perishable commodities; that the long voyages would occasion an enormous waste of timber and that the climate of the East would prove destructive to mariners. And after all the object was merely to glut the market with spices which the Turkey Company already supplied." These complaints were directed against the East India trade itself, rather than the restriction of it to a particular channel and were probably raised by the Turkey Company which was, even at so early a date jealous of the rivalry of the London East

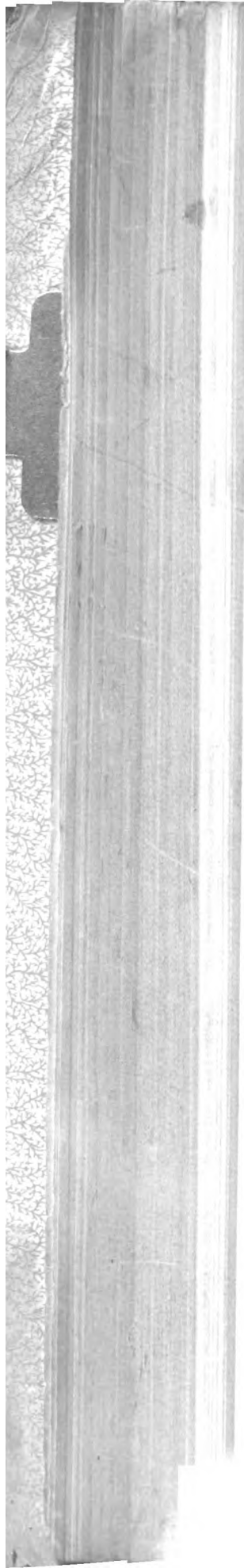
1. Macpherson, p 218.
 McCulloch, p 521.
 Grant, p 4.



Soon after the departure of the second voyage in 1604 King James I licensed a Sir Edward Michelborne and certain other persons to discover and trade with Cathai (China), Japan, Corea, Cambay and such other places as had not hitherto been frequented by the English¹. In 1615 a small tract was published entitled "Trades Increase", in which it was urged that the Russian trade was neglected in following that to the East Indies. These complaints were seconded by those of the Turkey Company which urged that the trade of the East India Company was injuring theirs to the Levant. To all these objections Sir Dudley Digges replied in this same year in an article entitled, "The Defense of Trade"², in which, after accounting for the loss of ships and men he gives the details of the state of the Company's trade. In 1621 a further defense of the Company was published by Mr. Mun, a stockholder in that Company, who says, "that although the Company had lost twelve ships in the hostilities against the Dutch they had yet remaining twenty-one good ships and property to the amount of £400,000."³

The true state of affairs in great measure may be

1. Macpherson, p241.
Grant, p 7.
2. Macpherson, p 279.
Grant, p 11.
3. Grant, p 14.



understood from the preamble of a petition and remonstrance presented to the House of Commons in 1628, of which the substance was,¹ " that the Company having existed twenty-eight years by the charters of Queen Elizabeth, King James and King Charles had traded with great success to India until sundry ill accidents from storms and enemies, but more especially from professed friends and allies (meaning the Dutch) have infinitely damaged it; which misfortunes together with our annual exportation of foreign coin to India, have begot such causeless complaints as thereby have much discouraged the adventurers from trading any longer, under the general censure of all ranks of the nation. The Company therefore humbly pray that the Honorable House take the matter into their consideration, and if upon their examination the said trade shall be found to be unprofitable to the nation, that it may be suppressed; but if otherwise, they pray that it may be supported and countenanced by some public declaration for the satisfaction of all His Majesty's subjects and the better encouragement of the present adventurers." The reasons brought forward for the continuance of the Company were:-

1. That it increased the strength of the English navy.

1. Macpherson, p 351.

II. That it increased the wealth of the nation.

III. That it weakened the King of Spain and his subjects, by exhausting their treasure.

IV. An answer to the common objection that the East India trade exhausts our treasure.

The sudden dissolution of Parliament prevented their taking this remonstrance into their consideration, but the article was reprinted in 1641. It is noteworthy, however, there is no mention in the whole document of the Company's being a monopoly- a fact which induces one writer to comment on ¹ "the silence of the Company on that tender point" as an evidence of their prudence in not taking up a subject on which they would not be able to satisfy the House of Commons at that critical time; and equally induces another to conclude ² "that the question of monopolies was not even raised at that time."³

The next severe blow ³ which the Company received was in 1635 when Charles 1 licensed Sir William Courten and others to trade for a certain term of years to parts of India, China and Japan, which the Company had not yet touched on the ground that the Company had neglected their privileges. This was a direct attack on the exclusive

1. Macpherson, p 353.

2. Grant, p 33-5.

3. Macpherson p 450.
Mc Culloch p 523.
Grant p 27.

4.

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The next severe blow which the Company received was in 1625 when Charles I licensed Sir William Courten and others to trade for a certain term of years to parts of India, China and Japan, which the Company had not yet touched on the ground that the Company had neglected their privileges. This was a direct attack on the exclusive

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1. Macpherson, p 353.
 2. Grant, p 33-B.
 3. Macpherson p 450.
 - Mc Gillion p 323.
 - Grant p 27.

trade of the Company. The grant was renewed for a second term of years and the Association continued during the remainder of the reign of Charles I. But the attempt finally ended in failure and Courten's Association was forced to ask for a union with the Company, which was effected during the first years of the Commonwealth.

In 1652,¹ a virulent pamphlet appeared against the Company entitled "Strange News from India" intended to favor the solicitation of the heirs of Sir William Courten. The Lord Protector Cromwell was in favor of free trade and although he did not withdraw the Company's charter, yet a considerable number of merchants were permitted to engage in the Indian trade altogether independently, some of whom he incorporated as "the Merchant Adventurers" in 1654. This continued till 1657 when the Lord Protector confirmed the charter and monopoly of the London Company² in spite of the opposition of that part of the Company which had formed Courten's Association and which now urged the formation of a regulated instead of a joint stock,³ in a petition to Parliament on November 17, 1656.

Cromwell's charter was confirmed by Charles II in 1661 and again in 1676 with additional privileges.⁴

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1. Macpherson p 449.
 2. Grant p 48.
 3. Bruce Vol. 1, p 518.
McCulloch p 524.
 4. Macpherson p 579.
Mc Culloch p 524.

Nevertheless since these grants of the King were not confirmed by Act of Parliament, private traders or "interlopers" as they were termed, frequently appeared within the Company's limits. They raised a great clamor against the Company on account of its many exclusive privileges and, very boldly for that time, published their opinion that the Company's Charters were null and void, since the Crown could not legally grant charters conferring privileges of the character of monopolies without the concurrence of Parliament.¹ These objections appeared in 1676 in the letter,² "from a Barrister of the Temple to a country gentleman in answer to a supposed letter to him on this subject, dissuading him from longer trusting his children's fortunes to East India bonds." An answer to this appeared in 1677 entitled "The East India Trade, A Most Profitable Trade to the Kingdom and Best Secured and Improved in a Company and a Joint Stock: Represented in a Letter Written upon the Occasion of Two Letters Lately Published Insinuating the Contrary." This was possibly by the famous Sir Josiah Child who during the greater part of the reign of Charles II and James II managed the affairs of the Company.

His general propositions are :

1. That the East India trade takes off a considerable quantity of our native commodities and manufactures.

1. Macpherson, p 579.

2. Ibid, p 584.

II. That it supplies us cheaply with the most necessary commodities for our own consumption.

III. That it brings us some commodities for our further manufacture.

IV. That it furnishes a large quantity of goods for foreign markets.

V. That it employs a great number of English shipping.

VI. That it occasions the building of ships of more burden and force for warlike service and the defense of the kingdom than any other trade whatever.

VII. That it brings in a considerable revenue to the King's Customs and addition to the nation's stock."

In 1681,¹ an anonymous work appeared under the signature _____ entitled, "A Treatise, wherein is Demonstrated that the East India Trade is the most National of All Foreign Trades". From the style and scope of the work, Sir Josiah Child seems to have been the author of this also. In it, he defends joint stock as opposed to regulated Companies. This same year² the silk weavers of London petitioned the House of Commons unsuccessfully against the wear of India silks, while the Turkey Company brought in a complaint against

1. Macpherson, p 597.
Grant p 59.

2. Macpherson, p 597-8.

them for the importation of raw silks. As far back as the year 1670 the English Levant Company began to complain of the importation of wrought and raw silks by the London East India Company; as those articles had formerly been imported solely from Turkey. In 1681, the Turkey Company made a formal complaint to the King's Council on which a hearing ensued. The Turkey Company alleged that it had had control of this trade for a hundred years past and exported a large quantity of English manufactures, while the East India Company impoverished the nation by the exportation of a vast quantity of gold and silver: and that, moreover, their trade as being a regulated Company instead of a joint stock Company was much more open and comprehensive, since it admitted all "bred-merchants". They, therefore, humbly prayed that "for the relief of the now languishing, but most necessary Turkey trade, His Majesty would be graciously pleased to permit the Turkey Company the exercise of the trade of the Red Sea and all other dominions of the Grand Signior (i.e. Arabia and part of Africa) according to the large extent of their Charter, and access thereunto by the most convenient passage, (i.e. around the cape of Good Hope)¹" In addition to this, nine reasons were given against the management of the East India trade under the present

1. Macpherson, p 600.

1
 joint stock .

I. The Company had agreed in their Charter of 1657 that the stock should be balanced and a new subscription opened at the end of seven years.

II. They impoverished the working people of England by sending out to India throwsters , weavers and dyers, and by actually setting up the manufacture of silks there.

III. Though many of the first subscribers have died off, yet there is no liberty for young merchants to come in on a new subscription.

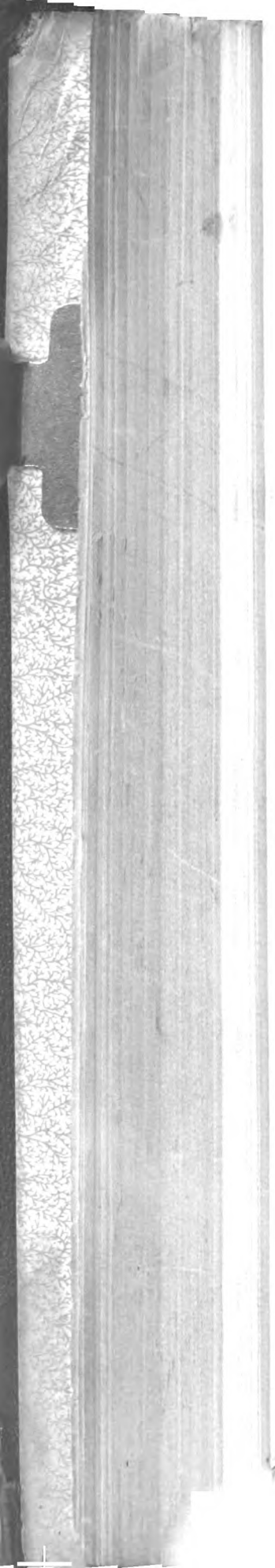
IV. The so-long continuance of the stock is the reason for its having fallen into so few hands.

V. They export great quantities of bullion and a small quantity of cloth.

VI. Of the 550 members of the Company , not above one fifth are merchants, and as these last are always of the Committee, it happens that many of the choicest goods are sent home on their private accounts.

VII.-VIII. A new subscription would bring in more money and new merchants and thus would enable trade to spread to Persia, Japan, Arrachan, Acheen , Sumatra, Pegu, Madagascar and many other places, which are not touched at present.

IX. The lenders of the dead stock of £ 600,000 at the low interest of 3% hazard their principle for that low interest, while the Company makes 50 % without any



hazard. Furthermore, the lenders have only the common seal of the Company to depend upon as security in case of losses. The East India Company answered these objections at length; but no decision seems to have been given by the Council.

During the latter part of the reign of Charles II and of his successor, the number of private adventurers, or "interlopers" in the Indian trade increased in an unusual degree. The Company vigorously exerted themselves in defense of what they conceived to be their rights. This decisive and perhaps rigorous exercise of authority, instituted by Sir Josiah Child and practiced by his instruments in India formed a further subject for recrimination to the opponents of the Company. The Company in turn made great complaints against the interloping ships, declaring that, ¹ "the Company were at an annual expense of a £100,000 to maintain their forts, etc., and that it would be impossible to carry on a profitable commerce if the "interlopers" were tolerated. The question at last came to a legal issue, ² in a prosecution brought by the Company in 1685 against Mr. Thomas Sandys, as having been guilty of a violation of their patent by trading without license to the East Indies, before the Court of the King's Bench. After a long and curious trial a decision was rendered by Chief Justice Jeffreys in favor of the Company. But the decision was ascribed to corrupt influence and a violent clamor was

Macpherson, p 605.

2. Ibid, p 606, 613.

Grant, p 108.

Mc Culloch p 525.



raised against the Company, chiefly through the "interlopers" and their friends. So that the "interlopers" continued their voyages to India, being encouraged by the opinion of certain lawyers who freely declared¹ that the King could not legally obstruct them by any Charter whatever, granted to the Company unless their exclusive power had the sanction of an act of Parliament. Nevertheless, the King sent out a ship of war to India to protect the Company from "interlopers" and privateers.

This discussion was suspended by the Revolution of 1688, only to revive with renewed force in the unsettled period which followed. The meeting of the Convention Parliament in 1689 gave the Company's opponents hopes of a successful issue to their efforts. Their opinions, however, were divided, part desiring an open trade, and part the formation of a new joint stock Company, on a more liberal footing. Petitions and remonstrances were presented on all sides both to the King and Parliament; but while the latter repeatedly passed resolutions in favor of the new Company, the former repeatedly granted charters to the old. The proceedings that took place on this occasion were among the most disgraceful in the history of the Company. The most open and unblushing corruption was practiced by all parties.² "It was in fact, a trial which should bribe highest, public authority inclining to one or the other as the

1. Macpherson, p 606.

2. Mc Culloch, p 526.

Ibid, Modern Universal History Vol. X , p 127
Grant, p 106.

irresistable force of gold directed.*

The Company had just been to a great expense in their war with the Mughal. This expense together with the incessant clamors of the "interlopers" and of the friends of those put to death at St. Helena, jointly conspired to bring the Company into great discredit. Printed papers were handed about, relating their habits and customs, "their courses, and miscarriages". Proposals were also published for dissolving the Company and erecting a new one and the House of Commons was so far influenced by these as in 1691 to address King William to dissolve the Company agreeable to the power reserved by the Crown in their Charter and to incorporate a new one. The King's answer was "that it being a matter of very great importance, it required some time to consider their address." In the meantime, he referred it to a Committee of the Privy-Council; whereupon the Company in writing, declared their submission to such regulations as that Committee of the Council should prescribe. These were in substance that the capital stock should be made up to £1,500,000 at least, but not to exceed £2,000,000 of which the present Company's capital was to constitute a part. The present Company

1. In the year 1683 the people of the Island of St. Helena refused to pay certain taxes which they alleged to be contrary to their contract with the Company when they came to settle there. The Company taking advantage of the increased authority granted by their new Charter reduced them to obedience by force and executed certain persons. A great clamor was therefore raised by the widows and relations of these persons, whose case being laid before the House of Commons in 1685, the House voted that what the Company had done "was arbitrary and illegal". Macpherson, p 611.

jointly with the new subscribers should be incorporated¹
for twenty-one years.

The London East India Company's vindication of themselves by way of reply to the proposed regulations of the Privy-Council of the preceding year set forth,² "that the present stock of the Company, quick and dead, was really worth more than £ 1, 500,000 and they knew no law why they should be dispossessed^{of} their estates at an undervalue; that their forts, towns and factories in India were theirs forever by their Charters and had cost them over £1,000, 000 sterling; and that all the other proposed regulations were better provided for by their present Charter than they could be by any new one."²

This same year, 1692, the King in reply to the address of the House of Commons demanding the dissolution of the London East India Company replied that, "upon due consideration, he could not dissolve the Company in less than three years' warning, during which time they could not be hindered from trading, nor could a new Company trade until those three years were expired: - that the Company having rejected most of the regulations, made by the Committee of the Council, he was of the opinion that what was needful to preserve this valuable trade could not be perfected without the concurrence of Parliament, wherefore

1. Macpherson, p 649.

2. Ibid, p 649.

3. "Account of Some Transactions in the House of Commons and before the Lords of the Privy-Council, Relating to the East India Company." Quarto 1693.

he recommended them to prepare a bill for that purpose.* Hereupon, the House of Commons took the settlement of this trade into consideration, but through their own divisions and the Company's great interest they did nothing effectual: only at the close of the session they addressed the King for the dissolution of the Company at the end of three years. This, His Majesty promised to consider.¹

In 1693, it happened, either intentionally or most unaccountedly that the Company neglected to pay the tax (recently enacted by Parliament on joint stock and other Companies) within the time limited by the Act. By this they legally forfeited their Charter. Yet King William was unwilling to take advantage of this as it would have occasioned great disorders and losses to the proprietors. But upon this, the Company was accused of having distributed great sums of money to men in power.²

Nevertheless the Company obtained a new Charter on October 7, 1693, restoring it to all power which they had had by their former Charter with the following proviso:-

"That if the Company do not accept, submit to, and effectually execute such orders, directions, additions, alterations and restrictions, etc. relating to the Constitution and powers of their Corporation and its trade

1. Macpherson, p 650.

2. "The House of Commons having ordered an examination of the East India Company's books, it appeared that the sums paid for 'special services' which before the Revolution scarcely ever exceeded £ 1,200 per year had ever since gradually increased, and in the year 1693 amounted to £90,000, of which £10,000 were traced to the King, £50,000 to the Duke of Leeds, and other sums to other men in power." Macpherson,

and joint stock, etc. as the King shall by Charter ordain under his great seal before September 29, 1694, then their Majesties may revoke this Charter. ¹ *

These regulations and orders were accordingly made by two royal charters, the first of which on November 11, 1693 was in substance as follows:- ²

I. All subscribers shall be members of the Company.

II. £ 744,000 shall be the whole capital of the Company.

III. None shall subscribe above £10,000.

IV. In general court £ 1,000 stock shall have one vote and none shall have more than ten votes.

V. Such as shall become proprietors by purchase shall pay for their freedom £5, who, as also the new subscribers shall take the oaths appointed by law, and also the free-man's oath.

VI. The Governor or in his absence the Deputy-Governor to have a casting vote in all courts, each of them to have £4,000 in his own right and each Director £1,000.

VII. No permission shall be granted for ships to India on a private account, on penalty of forfeiting the Charter.

VIII. No private contract is to be made for the sale of the Company's goods (saltpetre only accepted for the King's use) but all to be openly and publicly sold and no one lot to exceed £500, jewels excepted.

1. Macpherson, History of Great Britain, Vol. 11, p 79.
2. Macpherson, p 653 .

IX. The Company shall annually export to India of the growth and product of England to the value of £100,000.

X. The Company shall annually supply the Crown with saltpetre, 500 tons at £38 - £10 per ton in time of peace, and £45 in time of war.

XI. All divisions of the Company's profit shall for the future be made in money only.

XII. A book shall hereafter be kept by the Company, wherein their stock, as attested upon oath shall be entered; to be viewed by all concerned.

XIII. The joint stock of the Company shall continue for twenty-one years and one year before its expiration books shall be opened to new subscribers to a new joint stock

The second Charter of regulation appeared September 28, 1694, which after reciting the substance of the two preceding charters, made the following alterations.

1. The Company may license their own commanders and mariners, but no others, to trade on their own private account in such commodities and to such value as a general court shall direct, provided entry shall be first duly made as well as customs paid before landing the same.

11. To the intent that the Company's annual exportation to India of the value of £100,000 of English goods may truly be proved, a just account of them in writing, signed by the Governor or Deputy-Governor, shall be annually laid before the King and Council attested on the oath of

the proper officers, which goods shall not be reloaded or carried anywhere out of the Company's limits.

III. Neither the Governor, Deputy-Governor, nor Committees shall lend out of the Company's money without a general court.

IV. If this and the two last charters shall not appear to be profitable to the Crown and realm, either in whole or in part, then after three years warning all the three Charters shall cease and be determined and void; and the Governor and Company shall no longer continue a Corporation.

V. The Company shall by writing under their common seal declare their acceptance of and submission to this and the last two said Charters or else they shall no longer act as a Corporation.

By the new subscription of £ 744,000 which added 781 members to the East India Company, it might be imagined that they had effectually secured themselves against the attack of their opponents. But as the Company had expended vast sums of money to certain members of Parliament and others, both for obtaining the last three Charters and for endeavoring to divide and buy off the "interlopers" and above all for obtaining an Act of Parliament for their absolutely legal establishment, their enemies found means for influencing the House of Commons against them so far as to enter upon a strict examination of their practices.

By this inquiry it was discovered that in 1693 alone

while Sir Thomas Cooke was Governor and Francis Tyron , Esquire, Deputy Governor, upwards of £80,000 were expended for secret services by the former and by Sir Basil Fire-¹brace- lately bought off from the interloping interests. These last two gentlemen were committed to the Tower by the House of Commons, in 1695, for refusing to state to whom the secret service money was paid, together with Mr. Charles Bates and Mr. James Craggs.² Although in obedience to an Act of Parliament in the year 1694, Sir Thomas Cooke made a discovery of many things to both houses of Parliament, yet they did not give entire satisfaction as may be seen more fully in the printed collection and supplement of the Debates of Parliament of the years 1694 -5. "Upon the i nquiries into the late briberies and corrupt practices" (Quarto 1695). The inquiry actually proceeded far enough to implicate persons of great eminence, among others the Duke of Leeds, against whom the House of Commons actually preferred articles of impeachment before the Lords. This conflict, however, seems to have terminated by a general compromise. The proceedings began to languish and being suspended by a prorogation of Parliament appear never again to have been resumed or even remembered.

1. In Grant's "History of the East India Company" p 110, he says "these practices were, in 1695, detected by the House of Commons who discovered that two years before upwards of £200,000 had been granted by the Directors on the services in question."

2. Macpherson, p 662.

3. Grant, p 110.

Commons Journal, April and May - 7 W.

CHAPTER 11.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The complaints against the London East India Company's proceedings, together with their great losses of ships and rich cargoes, incurred during the war with the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, which had prevented its making any dividends for several years past had by the year 1697 occasioned a general detestation for the Company. This broke out more plainly in the Spring of 1698, when the House of Commons took the state of the East India trade into their serious consideration. The Court of Directors of the London East India Company¹ now thought it prudent to make a proposition to Parliament that they would advance £700,000 at 4% interest for the public service, provided their Charter should be confirmed by an Act of Parliament and the exclusive trade to India legally settled on the London Company. While this subject was under consideration and the House seemingly listening to the proposal the "Private Merchants" renewed their applications to obtain from Parliament an Act creating a new East India Company,² founding their application on the public prejudice against monopolies and

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1. Bruce, p 252.
Macpherson, p 694.
Grant, p 118.
McCulloch, p 526.
 2. Bruce, p 253.
Macpherson, p 694.

connecting these prejudices with the discontent of many of the Proprietors of the East India Company, who had not regularly received their dividends owing to the losses of the recent years. They were headed by Mr. Samuel¹ Shepherd and countenanced by Mr. Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. They offered to advance £2,000,000 at 8% interest, provided they might have the sole exclusive trade to India vested in them and that they should not be obliged to trade on Joint Stock unless they should afterwards desire to be incorporated, in which case a Charter should be granted them. The pecuniary difficulties in which the Government was at this time involved induced them to favor the latter proposal. The large offer of £2,000,000 though at a higher interest,² was considered to be more advantageous to the public than the offer of £700,000 by the London Company, because it would furnish the State with a greater and more immediate supply of money. A Bill was therefore introduced into the House of Commons for accepting the offer of £2,000,000.

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The Court of Directors prayed to be heard on this Bill and the Company's Counsel pleaded in both Houses their several successive Charters, all of whose conditions they had fulfilled; which among other great privileges styled them "Lords Proprietors of Bombay and St. Helena;" that

1. Macpherson, p 694.
 2. Bruce, p 253.
 3. Macpherson, p 694.
 Bruce, p 253.

they possessed a full right to their settlements to which by law they had the exclusive title; and that they enjoyed commercial privileges in the settlements which they had purchased for valuable considerations. They set forth, further, that the Company had actually acquired at their own sole expense revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David and Bombay as well as in Persia and elsewhere to the amount of £ 44,000 per annum, also a large extent of land in these respective places¹; that they had also erected forts and settlements and procured territories on the Island of Sumatra and on the Malabar Coast without which the pepper trade would have been entirely lost to England; that they had a strong fort in Bengal and also many factories and buildings and settlements in divers other parts. They had moreover, purchased of the India Princes at high rates many privileges and immunities, all which they were encouraged to do out of a firm belief that their rights and inheritances would on all occasions be the object of the Nation's care; that since this Bill was brought in the Company agreed to submit their present stock to a valuation of 50%, viz., 20% on their dead stock which they were content to warrant even at that rate and 30% upon their live stock, and upon these terms they offered to open a subscription likewise

1. These revenues arose from customs and licenses for selling wine, for fishing, for farms of tobacco and betel; for quit rents, house rents, and garden rents to natives; passage for country ships, tonnage, anchorage and salvage, all of which were constantly increasing. Macpherson, p 694.

for £2,000,000.

¹
 In answer the Counsel for the new Association replied that the old Company in reciting their Charters had forgotten to mention the proviso therein from the first Charter of Queen Elizabeth to the present time; that the Crown which granted them reserved discretionary powers to make them void on three years warning if the trade should not prove profitable to the King and to the realm; that the King solely in his character as King could not grant an exclusive trade, as being directly contrary to law; neither had the present king, in fact, granted any such exclusive right; that several recoveries had been made at law against the Company prosecuting such pretended right; that the King's message to the Commons in 1692 plainly signified that the concurrence of Parliament was necessary ² for making a complete and useful settlement of this trade; that when they mentioned the resolution of the Commons in 1691, they omitted their other resolutions, namely, "that it was lawful for all persons to trade to the East Indies unless restricted by Act of Parliament"; that the patent for some trades with joint stock - while the trades for which they were granted were in their infancy- had been permitted for the sake of getting a settled trade and till the first adventurers had reaped some of their expense and risks.

1. Macpherson, p 695.

Bruce, p 253.

2. Here they expatiated upon the bribery and other indirect proceedings of the Company in 1692-5.

Yet afterwards when such trades had grown considerable the wisdom of the Nation had always, or generally, judged it fitting to open a way for the Kingdom to receive a general benefit therefrom;¹ that it was never esteemed a breach of public faith nor a derogation from the credit of the Great Seal or from the honor of the Kings to have their patents annulled by Parliament, when it appeared that such grants were unprofitable or contrary to the common rights of the subject; neither did any Kings think themselves bound in honor or conscience to refuse passing an Act of Parliament for annulling such grants; that, moreover, Kings having often been deceived in such grants, they had even been frequently annulled by ordinary law.

On the other hand the London Company again further replied and urged that the property of many families, widows, and orphans were greatly affected by this Bill and would be lost unless supported by a fixed joint stock; moreover, the Bill made no provision for any determined stock * in so much that the trade may be lost to the nation for want of sufficient capital to carry it on; it appearing by thirty years experience that it required at least £600,000 every year to carry this trade to its utmost.* That even during the three years to Michaelmas, 1701, the new subscribers were by this

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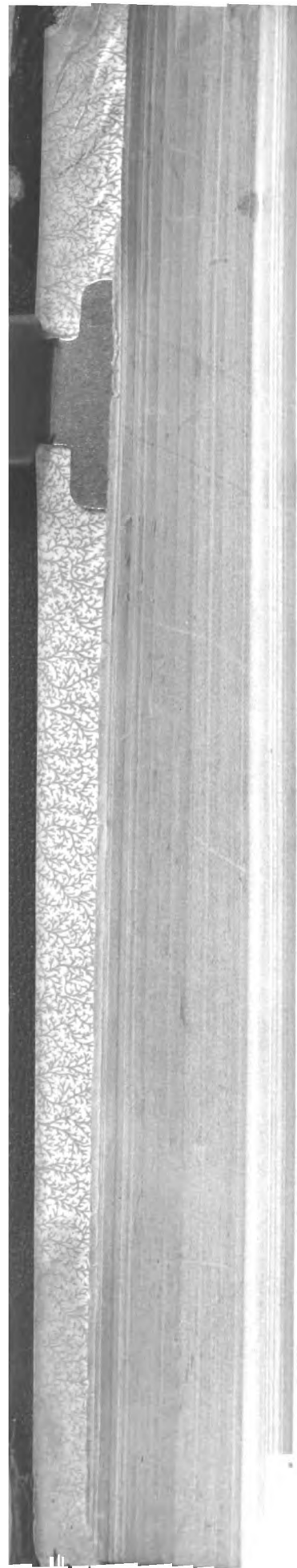
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1. The Association which was now using such arguments against the old Company was at this time asking for and afterwards obtained an exclusive trade to India.
 2. Macpherson, p 695.
Bruce, p 254.

Bill permitted to trade as well as the old Company which was contrary to the Charters and would create great confusion, and would render the said three years trade allowed to the old Company of no benefit, because they still were bound to export to the value of £100,000 annually of British manufactures, while the new Company were under no such obligation. ¹ The old Company was, moreover, obliged to pay taxes, keep up forts, factories, etc., while the new subscribers were to have an equal benefit of the trade without either; that since the last new subscription in 1693 the Company had lost either by accidents or the calamities of war twelve great ships, which with their cargoes would have sold for nearly £ 1,500,000, and yet notwithstanding such losses, they had paid in customs since that period £295,000 besides £85,000 in taxes; that moreover they supplied the King in Holland on a pressing occasion with 6,000 barrels of gun-powder and had likewise at a time of great extremity subscribed £80,000 for circulating exchequer bills at the instance of the treasury; and that, in short, many hundred families had their whole fortunes depending on the stock of the present Company, who would be utterly ruined if this Bill should take effect. It was, ² furthermore, alleged against the old Company that the new subscribers to that Company's stock in the year 1693

1. "Series of East India Charters" (printed) from Queen Elizabeth to 1698.

Anderson's History of Commerce, Vol. 11, p 634.

2. Macpherson, p 696.



were deluded into it by the Charter then obtained by indirect means, and by the hopes of an Act of Parliament to confirm it, and by the old proprietors having valued their stock at £750,000 whereby they shared £375,000 of the new subscribers' money among themselves; and as they had warning sufficient by the transaction before the King and Council, nobody was answerable for their loss but themselves.

There reasons weighing or seeming to weigh with Parliament, and some of the old Company's leaders, moreover, being said to have been disaffected to the State or perhaps because the new subscribers were the favorites of the ministry, an Act of Parliament was passed (10th William III Cap.44) "for the raising of a sum not to exceed two millions upon a fund for the payment of annuities after the rate of 8% and for settling the trade to the East Indies. "

The substance of this Act was as follows: The King might appoint commissioners for taking subscriptions from any persons or corporations - the Bank of England excepted - for the raising of £2,000,000 after Michaelmas, 1698, the entire interest being £160,000 per annum, arising from the duty on salt and certain additional duties on stamped parchment and paper; the new society to be called, "The General Society of Traders to the East Indies". They were empowered to trade either directly themselves or to license others

1. Bruce, p 255.
 Macpherson, p 696.
 East India Acts (printed 1786) p 14.
 Grant, p 118.
 McCulloch 526.

in their stead, but so as not to trade annually for more than the amount of their respective shares or stock. Yet the King by his Charter might incorporate the subscribers into one Body Politic¹ with the perpetual succession, etc. and the usual powers. Until that time, the subscribers were to elect out of their body twenty-four trustees. Corporations having shares herein might trade in proportion to their shares². Neither the general Society nor any Company that should be established in pursuance of this Act should borrow or give security for any sum on the credit of the funds granted by the Act³. Neither should they borrow, owe or give security for any other or greater sums than should be employed in their trades; which should be borrowed only on their common seal and not repayable in less than six months. Neither should they discount any bills, or notes, nor keep books or cash for any person whatever, other than their own Corporation⁴. 5% additional duty, rated on the value, was laid on all India goods imported from Michaelmas, 1698, to be paid by the general Society and by such Company or Companies as may be erected, for maintaining Ambassadors and other extraordinary expenses, the overplus of which was to be disposed of for the benefit of all members. Upon three years notice after Michaelmas, 1711, and repayment by Parlia

1. This was the intention from the first.

2. This seems plainly designed, for what soon after happened in favor of the old Company.

3. Macpherson, p 697.

4. These clauses were introduced to prevent encroaching upon the province of the Bank.

ment of the said £2,000,000¹, then all the duties, privileges etc. should cease¹, provided, however, that the existing East India Company might trade to India until Michaelmas, 1701. The separate traders formerly called "interlopers", already gone out, might safely return. All further sale should be made openly "by inch of candle", on pain of forfeiting one half to the King and one half to the in-²former. The existing Company should pay their just debts. No Society that should be erected in pursuance of this Act should owe at any one time more than the value of their capital stock, undivided; and if by any dividends their debts should at any time exceed the amount of their capital stock, the respective members should be liable for the same so far as the shares they received upon such dividends should extend, besides cost of suit.

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Books for subscription were accordingly opened and the entire £2,000,000 was subscribed in less than three days; and there were persons ready to have subscribed as much more. The law having empowered the King to incorporate all subscribers into one exclusive Company named the "General Society trading to the East Indies", their Charter was dated September 3, 1698.⁴ By this Charter the individuals con-

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1. The term was extended to March 26th, 1726 with three years notice.
 2. This was to obviate the clandestine sales said to have been made by the connivance of or for the benefit of the Directors.
 3. Macpherson, p 698.
 4. Bruce, p 257.
Macpherson, p 699.

stituting this Society were entitled to trade in proportion to the amount of stock subscribed, that is, each to be a "separate trader"¹. The London Company taking advantage of this clause which permitted Corporations to subscribe and trade to the amount of their subscription, "subscribed as large a sum as they could that they might trade on it after their own charter expired". They, therefore, subscribed £315,000 to the new Company's stock.

Two days after the grant of the first Charter, September 5, 1698, the King incorporated the Majority of the subscribers and their successors by Charter² to be one exclusive Company to trade on joint stock under the name of the "English Company trading to the East Indies", to have perpetual succession and to trade forever hereafter to India to the amount of their capital stock with the customary privileges of having a common seal and making by-laws, of suing and being sued and of purchasing an undetermined quantity of land, etc. With this remarkable clause, which provided the means afterwards of uniting the two Companies, viz., "that all Corporations and persons who should desire any right or title from any of the said subscribers or their successors should be esteemed members of the new Company and be received and admitted as such, gratis."

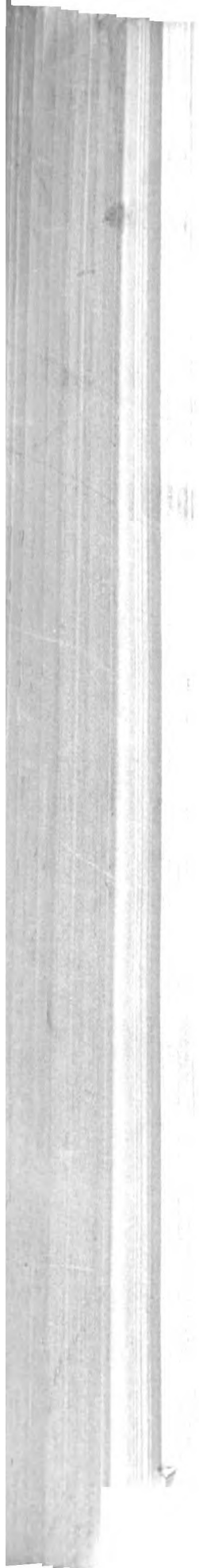
1. Recital of the Incorporation of the General Society in the Charter incorporating the English Company, Sept. 3, 1698 Printed Collection of Charters, p 206.

2. Bruce, p 258.

Macpherson, p 700.

Anderson's History of Commerce, Vol. 11, p 638.

Letters Patent granted to the English Company, Sept. 5, 1698



That this Company might augment their capital stock. That members at their admission should take an oath of fidelity to the stock Companies and should not trade to India on their private account, £500 to entitle them to one vote in the general courts, and no one to have more than one vote. That this new Company might establish the same courts of Judicature as the old Company had power to do by King James 11's Charter. That they should maintain a minister and school-master at St. Helena and in every fort and superior factory, as also a chaplain in every ship of 500 tons and upwards. That one tenth of their whole annual export to India should be in English products and manufactures. The old or London Company was to trade in India till September 21, 1701, but no longer.

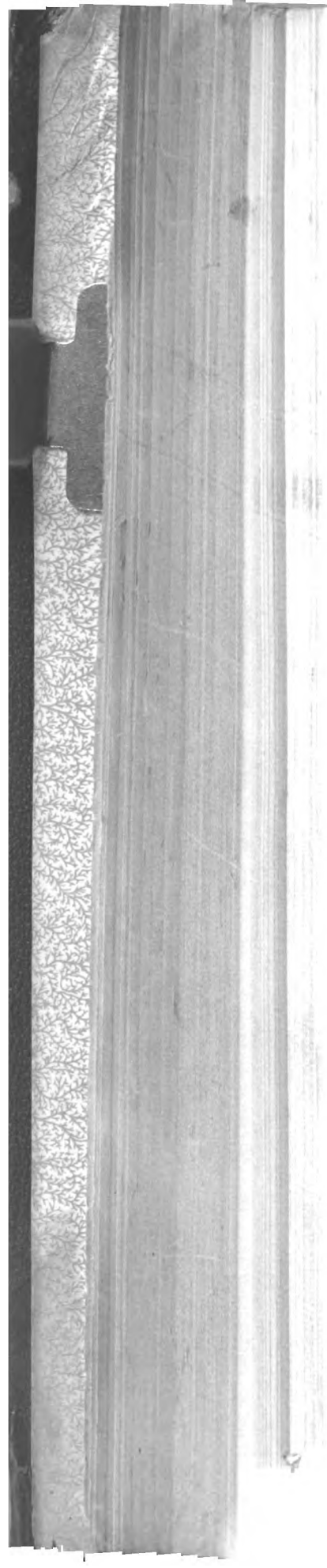
Having thus obtained their Charter granted by the King and confirmed by Act of Parliament, the English East India Company was ready to start upon its career of opposition to its commercial rival, the old, or as it now called itself, "The London East India Company"; and the novel spectacle was exhibited of two legally constituted bodies each claiming an exclusive right to the trade on the same area.

The English Company, as soon as the Royal Charter had brought it into corporate existence, began by appointing Agents to go to India and lay the foundations of a new and broader system of commerce within their limits, which

1. The rest is immaterial or a repetition of what is already mentioned.

were precisely the same as those of the London Company.

The Presidents of the factories appointed for the projected stations in India were vested with the character of King's Consuls for the English nation; and it was upon this position as Consuls that they subsequently laid the utmost weight in their dealings with the London Company. The stations decided on by the English Company were the same as those of the London Company, viz., Surat, the Coast of the Coromandel and Bengal, and the Presidents appointed for these settlements were Sir Nicholas Waite, Mr. John Pitt, and Sir Edward Littleton - all of whom were dismissed servants of the London Company, another cause for future recrimination and trouble. Further Sir William Norris was appointed Ambassador of the English nation to the Court of the Mughal. The object of this mission was to solicit Firmans for the English nation and to render the English East India Company its representatives in India.



CHAPTER 111.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AT SURAT.

Sir Nicholas Waite¹ was appointed President for the English East India Company at Surat, which was to be the chief seat of trade for the English Company, and Consul for the English nation. He was a former agent of the London Company at Bantam, who had been dismissed from their service but had received the honor of knighthood and had obtained this appointment. He was accordingly sent to Surat with the general instructions that beside his character of President, he was also to assume that of King's Consul for the English nation in that part of India and to open a confidential correspondence with Sir William Norris who was to be sent as the King's Ambassador to the Mughal. He was to make a particular report² on the rights and trade of the London Company and to transmit one copy to the Ambassador and another to the Court of Directors; and further he was to avoid entangling himself in any way with the debts of the London Company. His Council was to consist of five members, the first of whom (or Second in Council)³ was to be either Mr. Stanley, Mr. Annesley or Mr. Vaux—all of whom had been dismissed from the London Company's

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1. Bruce, p 287.
Anderson, p 145.
 2. Bruce, p 283.
 3. Bruce, p 287.

service "provided they had got clear of their old connection;" the third was a Mr. Benjamin Mewse, the fourth Mr. Bowne, a noted interloper, and the fifth, Mr. Chidley Brooke. Under them were appointed three Merchants, three Factors and eighteen Writers, whose ranks and salaries were to be as follows: Merchants, £60 per annum, Factors, £40, and Writers, £20.¹ The promotion to these ranks was to proceed by seniority, Writers of five years standing to become Factors and Factors after five years service to become Merchants: the salaries were to be paid at the rate of two shillings and sixpence per rupee. These servants, though they had liberty to carry on private trade from port to port at such stations as might be acquired by the Company were prohibited from renting farms on their own account and from intermarrying with the Natives. They were, however, to have permission to send diamonds to England, upon payment of a five per cent. ad valorem to the Company and a duty of five per cent. to the King. The President was, moreover,² empowered to appoint an additional Factor at each of the stations on the Malabar Coast, at which he might fix settlements. Further, Sir Nicholas Waite was ordered to advance £20,000 to the Ambassador for the expenses of the Embassy, which the Company expected would be considerable. The equipments destined for Surat were the "Montague," with a stock estimated at £40,000 in silver

1. Bruce, p 284.

2. Ibid, p 287.

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and £7,700 in goods and another ship, whose name and invoice were not specified.¹

The first notice of the establishment of the English Company reached Surat and the President and Council of the London Company there in April, 1699.² For some time, Mr. Lucas who had come in an interloping ship called the "Mary" had resided at Surat as the Agent of the new Company. In April the "Shrewsbury Galley", which was consigned to him, arrived with the intelligence that his Company was established by an Act of Parliament. The "interlopers" were in ecstasies of delight. Mr. Lucas communicated a copy to the President of the London Company, Sir John Gayer and then in company with Mr. Bowcher and Dr. Leckie made the event known to the Governor of Surat, who at once sent for the old Company's broker to ascertain the truth of the matter. With great prudence the broker informed him that the President and Council had received no such information, and that the "interlopers" should not be believed. On the following day the Governor sent for the President and Council and in the presence of the "interlopers" and of the principle merchants of Surat asked them if they acknowledged the Act of Parliament. They replied that they did, but the London Company were allowed by it to trade to September, 1701, and that they had received no orders to resign their

1. Commission and Instructions from the Court of Directors of the English Company to Sir Nicholas Wait^e and Council at Surat, April 4-5, 1699.

2. Bruce, p 309. Anderson, p 144-5.

rights to the persons who came by the "Shrewsbury Galley"; nor had these persons any power to dismiss them. The first idea of the Governor was that the Factors would disown their pecuniary engagements. He, therefore, ordered the broker¹ on pain of corporal punishment to give security that the President and Council would not leave the town and commanded them to be confined in the Factory till such security should be given. Subsequently, he ordered the broker not to pay any money to them until he should examine the London Company's accounts. A few days later, he sent for their Shroffs and ordered the principle of them to be beaten till they gave an account of what bullion the Company had sold to them and what price they paid for it. It should be observed that the Governor's temper had been severely tried by the loss of two lakhs of rupees, which he had on board the "Quedah Merchant", when it was plundered by Kidd. During all this time Lucas was industriously spreading reports among the natives that the King of England and his Parliament had deprived the old Company of their Charter in consequence of their misdemeanors. By these means such a hostile spirit was roused that Sir John Gayer and his Council could scarcely write of him or his friends with decency, but in Scriptural language denounced them as their "Rabshaka adversaries"². On November 16, fresh in-

1. Bruce, p 310.

Anderson, p 145.

2. Letter from Sir John Gayer to Stephen Colt, June 23, 1699.
Anderson, p 145.

vaders of the Factory's peace appeared. Mewse and Brooke announced themselves as Factors of the new Company and prepared Sir John Bayer for what was to follow. At last on January 11, 1700, Sir Nicholas Waite¹ made his appearance on the "Montague" while the affairs of the Presidency were in this situation. The letters from Sir Nicholas¹ written after he left the shores of England still exist, one dated from Deal and another from the Bay of Cadiz, in which he informs his Masters, "that he devoutly asked God to vouchsafe his blessing on their undertaking and for that purpose, had with the rest of the Company's servants attended church on the day of sailing". As soon as he reached Bombay² he notified Sir John Gayer of his appointment to be King's Minister and Consul for the English nation and required compliance with whatever orders he might issue. Sir John Gayer, in answer disavowed any authority which Sir Nicholas Waite¹ might pretend to have over the London Company's service; both because, by the Act establishing the English Company, the London Company were entitled to carry on their trade till September, 1701, and because it exempted them from the payment of the five per cent. duty for the support of Ministers.

Sir Nicholas,³ finding that he could make no impression on Sir John Gayer accordingly sailed for Surat where he arrived January 19. He had once notified his Commission

1. Anderson, p146.

Record of the English Company Factory at Surat.

2. Bruce, p 311.

3. Anderson, p 146. Bruce, p 311.

to the President and Council requiring them to strike St. George's or the Company's flag as he bore the commission of Vice-Admiral and would allow no flag but his own. The President and Council for the same reasons assigned by Gayer refused to comply. Considering this to be an affront to his dignity, Waite [after a long correspondence with the President and Council determined to use force. Accordingly on January 27th, two captains of ships with forty men landed at Swally with orders to strike the London Company's flag. This commission was speedily executed, and the captains were making off with their prize when they were assailed by some of their rival servants. These were supported by a party whom the Governor of the City, indignant at Waite's exercise of authority had dispatched to the scene of action. The flag was rescued and restored to its staff. This, together with the fact that the old Company had not been dispossessed^{of} their Factory, led the natives to infer that the reports had been merely fabrications of the "interlopers", and that the new Company were trading without the countenance of authority.

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Sir Nicholas being satisfied¹ by this defeat that it was necessary to desist from open violence, hoisted the King's flag upon a house which he had hired and set to work to forward the interests of his own Company and injure those of his rival as far as possible. Without waiting for the

1. Anderson p, 146.



arrival of Sir William Norris, the Ambassador to the Mughal, who was daily expected, he addressed a letter to the Emperor accusing the London Company of being sharers and abettors of the piracies from which his subjects and the trade of his domains had suffered, declaring that they were "Theives, and confederates with pirates".¹

He took the opportunity also to intimate his rank as President of the English Company and Consul for the English nation and added that he was accompanied by a squadron of four men-of-war sent by the King of England, which would act under his authority and endeavor to destroy all pirates. After this, Sir Nicholas applied for and obtained permission² to make a public entry. Accordingly, he marched into Surat with an imposing procession accompanied by the Governor and his son. The President and Council of the London Company were sad spectators of the ceremony, feeling that the natives would argue from the solemnity the approaching decline of the old Company. Waite on this occasion, obtained a Parwana from the Governor granting the English Company liberty of trade and also an exemption from all debts or contracts to which the London Company were liable.

His next step was to protest against President Colt's issuing orders to the Country vessels as an authority with which he alone was vested, and to post notices about the

1. Bruce, p 337.
Anderson, p 146.
2. Bruce 338.
Anderson, p 146.

city warning all persons against taking the London Company's passes for their ships; but these were torn down by the Governor's orders.¹ In reply, the President denied that he had issued such passes since Waite's arrival declaring that he had only given recommendatory letters to such persons as had formerly been in the London Company's service. Under these circumstances, a conference was arranged; in which Sir Nicholas Waite on the one hand, insisted on his superior authority and the President and Council on the other, waived the acknowledgement of it.

At this time, Commodore Warren who was in command of the squadron sent by the King, on whose protection Sir Nicholas Waite depended, died, and was replaced by Commodore Littleton. Waite accused Littleton of partiality to the London Company² because although he had acknowledged the English Company, he had refused to attend the public entry to Surat. A further alteration arose, because Littleton refused to comply with a demand made by Sir Nicholas, that he should abstain from all communications with the President of the London Company. In reply, Commodore Littleton wrote to the President of the London Company that he would protect vessels sailing under their license. To counteract this Waite ordered Captain Allison of the English Company's ship "Norris" to pro-

1. Bruce, p 312.
Anderson, p 146.
2. Bruce, p 336.

ceed to the mouth of the river and stop all vessels wearing English colors, unless protected by his passports and protested formally against any obstruction or force Littleton might employ against this order. Frequent accusations were made and Waite accused Commodore Littleton of having reported that the Ambassador though licensed by the King was paid by the English Company; and of having ordered the King's flag to be struck on their ships though he allowed it aboard the London Company's ; of having neglected to give him the salute on landing to which he was entitled as King's consul, and of having been bribed by Sir John Gayer; and he entered a formal protest against him. He complained further that on the Consul's commission being read to the Governor, he had agreed to acknowledge it privately, but it was not publicly recognized because Commodore Littleton¹ refused to be present at a ceremony to confirm it.

1. The primary authorities for the above facts, are:- Letters from the General and Council at Bombay to the Court of the London Company, March 31, April 10, July 10, August 21, 25, -1699. Letter from the General and Council at Bombay to the President and Council at Surat, May 30, 1699. Letter from Sir John Gayer to the Court (Private) Aug. 18, 1699. Correspondence between Sir John Gayer and Sir Nicholas Waite Jan. 11, 15, 1700. Letters from the President and Council at Surat to the Court of the London Company, April 17, 1699, Jan. 19, March 28, 1700. Correspondence between the President and Council at Surat and Lucas and Boucher, the "interlopers", Apr. 8, 9, 11, 12, 1699. Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the General and Council at Bombay April 10, 1699. Letter from President Colt to the Court (Private) July 15, 1699. Correspondence between Sir Nicholas Waite and the President and Council at Surat, Jan. 22, 23, 25, 28, Feb. 1, March 28, 29, 30, April 1, 2, 4, 10, 1700. Letters

These measures and the disputes in which the members of the two establishments were incessantly engaged had such a disheartening effect upon Sir John Gayer and President Colt,¹ that the former ask permission of the Court to resign on account of ill health, and the latter, two years from the date of his appointment. In response to this, the Court requested Sir John Gayer, if his health permitted not to return to England because "from his ability and firmness they expected he would be able to resist the intemperate proceedings of Sir Nicholas Waite which even his own employers condemned".²

At the close of the year 1700 an Act of Parliament³ passed which continued the London Company a Corporation.

from Sir Nicholas Waite and Council to the Court of Directors of the English Company and Correspondence between Sir Nicholas Waite and the President and Council of the London Company at Surat, Jan. 9, 12, 22, 26, Feb. 20, March 11, 17, April 9, 1700. Letters from Sir Nicholas Waite and Council to the President and Council at Mas ulipatam and to Sir William Norris, the Ambassador, Dec. 4, 12, 1699, Feb. 13, 23, 25, April 4, 1700. Letter from the President and Council at Surat to the President and Council in Bengal, April 4, 1700. Letter from Sir Nicholas Waite to the Great Mughal Dec. ,1699. Letter from Sir Nicholas Waite to the Governor of Surat , Feb. 1790. Sir Nicholas Waite's protest against Commodore Littleton and the orders to Captain Allison , March 12, 15 1700. (Bruce)

1. Bruce, p 311.

Anderson, p 146.

2. Letter (private) from the Court to Sir John Gayer, May 3, 1700.

3. Bruce, p 386.

Letters from the Court of Directors of the English Company to Sir Nicholas Waite and Council at Surat, May 9, Sept. 7, 1700, March 24, April 11, 1700.

The Directors of the English Company realized that this necessitated a change of attitude on their part, and sent general instructions that the whole system of animosities must cease and that "it would be expedient to endeavor to out-trade their rival, as the only means that would be effectual" and ordered that all Englishmen should be treated with civility and respect.

New troubles, however, soon broke out on the question of the piracies recently committed. The squadron sent by the King had done very little to suppress this evil because they had suspended all operations, till the agents of the two Companies could explain in what way they could afford protection to each. In this state of affairs,¹ an order came from the Mughal proceeding on information received from the English Company's Agents, that the pirates were, in fact, no other than the London Company's vessels and therefore, that their servants were not to be permitted to go out of the city. In this distress President Colt and his Council applied to the Commander of the King's ships for protection and presented a petition to the Governor and his son for their freedom. In answer, they were told that the Mughal's orders were so positive that though provisions might be allowed to be sent to the ships at Swally, trade must remain at a stand-still until compensation should be

1. Bruce, p 371.

made for the Turkish Merchant belonging to Houssein Amir -ui-din, brother of the Sheriff of Judda taken by the pirates in 1698.

This state of affairs opened a correspondence between President Colt and Sir Nicholas Waite in which the former accused the latter of having influenced the Governor against the London Company by means of large presents.¹ In reply Waite denied that he had accused the London Company of being pirates, but declared his intention of not taking their servants under his protection, adding that they must be answerable for their debts. This brought matters between President Colt and Sir Nicholas Waite to issue.² Mr. Colt, that he might render the business no longer doubtful, by a formal protest, disavowed any authority which Sir Nicholas Waite might pretend to have over the concerns of the London Company. A correspondence on this subject also commenced, in which Mr. Colt adhered to this principle and Sir Nicholas Waite continued to assert his powers as Consul for the English nation.

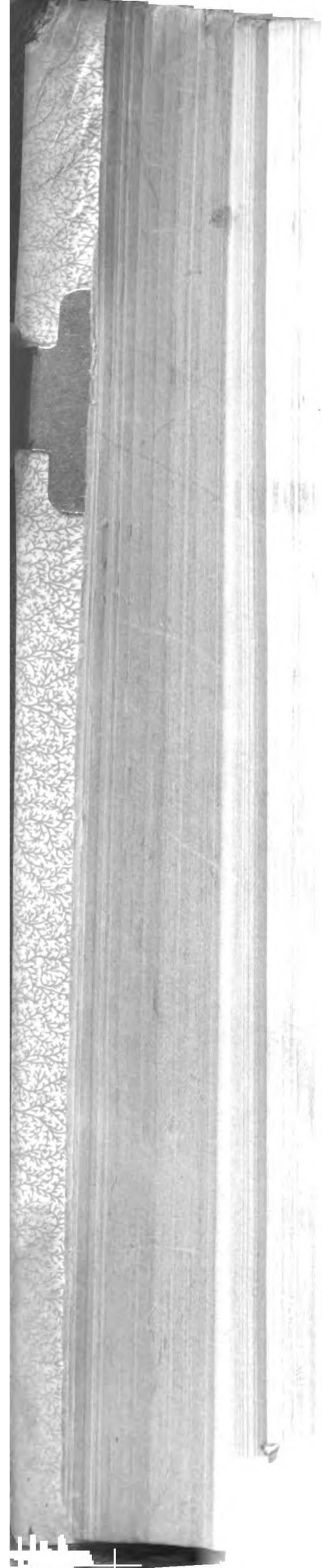
Meanwhile, the Governor was urging the question of compensation for the Turkish Merchant.³ The matter was waived by President Colt who, however, offered to

1. Bruce, p 371.
 2. Ibid, p 371.
 3. Ibid, p 372.



bribe the Governor and his son to soften their rigorous measures under the orders of the Mughal . In this dilemma , the President requested Sir John Gayer, as soon as the Company's shipping should arrive at Bombay, to appear himself off Surat and by his own authority endeavor to get the dispute adjusted, so that the port might be opened and the goods which had been purchased for the investment put on board. Every day produced some new event to heighten the embarrassments of the Presidency. The Governor next demanded that should the pirate vessel which had robbed the Turkish Merchant be taken, Mr. Colt should give an obligation that it should be brought to Surat. This Mr. Colt refused as beyond his power and could only have recourse in this distress to the expedient of not granting recommendatory letters to the Merchants such as he had given since the arrival of the English Company's Consul.

In the month of November, 1700, Sir John Gayer appeared at Swally and affairs became more urgent by the Governor requiring Sir Nicholas Waite to give his security for any damages which the London Company's ships might do the Merchant ships belonging to the port, on receiving a threat from Sir John Gayer that he would stop all country vessels not having the London Company's passes, unless their trade was allowed to proceed at once; a demand which Waite evaded by offering to give



this security on condition that the London Company should be excluded from trade. Under these circumstances, the Governor seized the letters of President Colt to Sir John Gayer, and had recourse to the English Company's servants to translate them. This heightened the difficulties because the accuracy of the translation was questioned by President Colt and because the Governor was unwilling to proceed to extremities, under the Mughal's orders lest the trade should be lost to Surat. This hesitation still kept the servants of the London Company in suspense for the Governor threatened that unless compensation should immediately be made to Houssein, the Mughal would require eighty lakhs of rupees, the amount of all the losses sustained by pirates, since 1685. These transactions with the Governor at last ended in his promising to write to Court about the business of the Turkish Merchant and allowing the goods to be sent to Swally provided the treasure should be brought on shore, as this would prove the confidence of the London Company in the Mughal's justice.

Affairs were in this state of confusion when Sir William Norris, the Ambassador arrived at Surat in December, 1700¹ on the representation of Sir Nicholas Waite, that his meeting the Ambassador before he sent out

1. Bruce, p 374.
Anderson, p 147.

for the Mughal's Court was indispensable. Sir William Norris immediately showed his hostility to the London Company by ordering the Union flag on their ship "Tavis-¹took" to be struck. The order was obeyed by the Captain, owing to the fact that Sir John Gayer was on shore, and this incident caused the native officers to believe that Sir William Norris' rank was superior to that of Sir John Gayer. The Ambassador then by bribes of 1000 gold mohurs to the Governor, 500 to his son and 300 to two of his principle officers, obtained permission to make a public entry into Surat. The embassy, accordingly entered with a solemn ceremonial. By a further bribe of 3000 gold mohurs to the Governors he induced him to stop the London Company's trade till the ships of the English Company's should be dispatched. On pretext, therefore, that a Turkish ship had been taken by pirates with President Col's knowledge, he detained their vessels till December 30, throwing the London Company's trade into the utmost distress.

Sir Nicholas Waite by the order of Sir William Norris next formally notified Sir John Gayer² that the Ambassador's commission would be publicly read on December 28 and required that he and all the English under his authority should be present. In answer, Sir John disavowed all

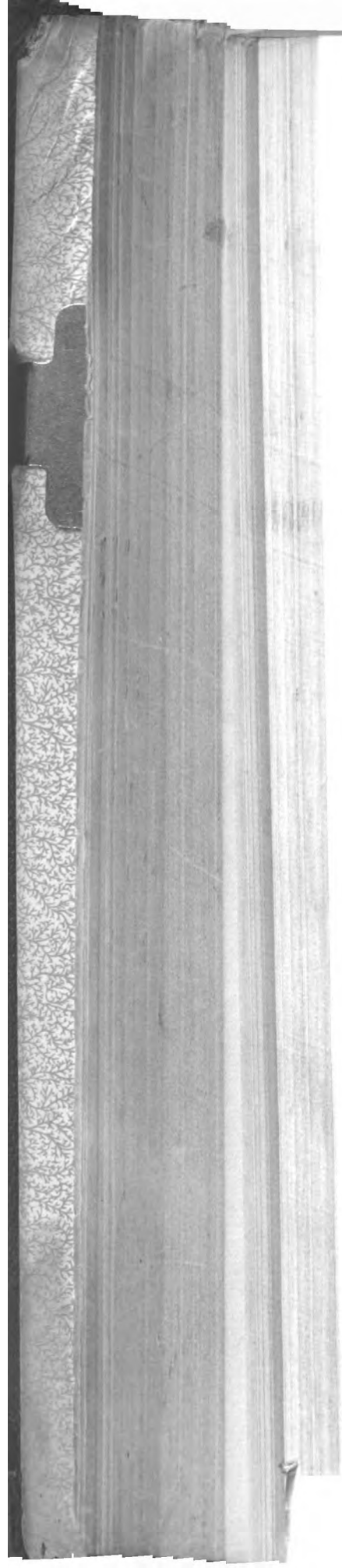
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1. Bruce, p 374.
Anderson, p 148.
2. Bruce, p 375.
Anderson, p 148.

dependence on the Ambassador or Consul even under their own Act of Parliament, and protested since an Act had passed, continuing the London Company a Corporation, neither the Ambassador nor Consul had the least authority over the servants of the London Company. Nor was he content with words, for he dispatched an Armenian to Court as his Envoy with orders to frustrate all the Ambassador's efforts.

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Enraged by this opposition Sir Nicholas Wate on January 22, 1701, brought a complaint before the Governor and demanded that the London Company's servants should be put in irons for an insult which he asserted had been offered the Ambassador. The Governor, not being interested in the matter, refused to interfere; whereupon Sir William Norris seized Mr. Wyche and Mr. Garnett, two of the Council of the London Company, and Mr. Richardson, their secretary, put them in confinement and then delivered them to the Governor "with their hands tied," who detained them until they found security for their appearance when required. Sir John Gayer on January 22, 1701, protested vigorously "against this outrage",² declaring the Consul and Ambassador responsible for this injustice; and at the same time presented a petition to the Governor of Surat praying his protection

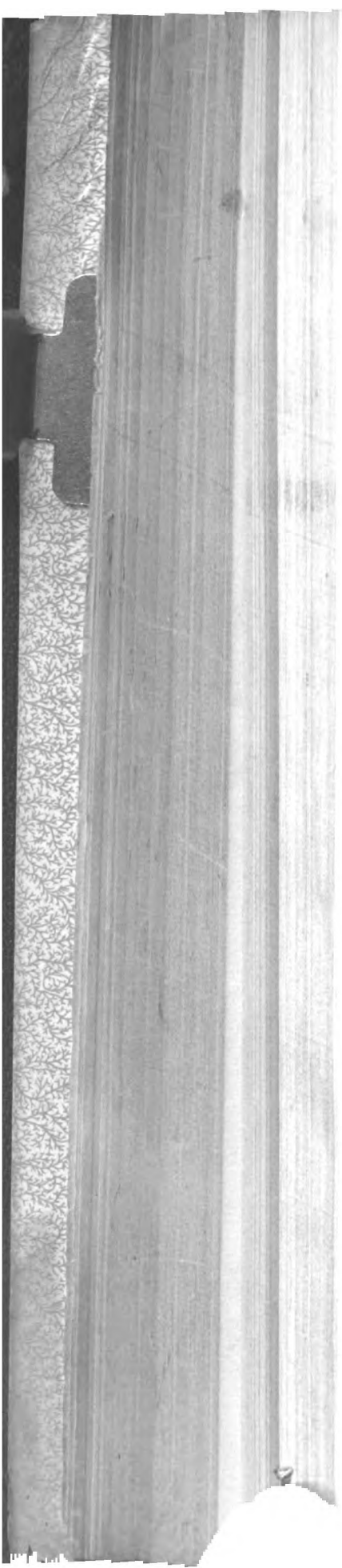
1. Bruce, p 377.
Anderson, p 148.
2. Bruce, p 378.



and that he might be allowed to take a copy of any accusations against him by the English Company, that a true state of the case might be transmitted to the Mughal .

Further troubles were to come however, for Sir Nicholas Waite "seduced" one of the Factors of the London Company to steal and deliver to him copies of all letters which had passed between President Colt and Sir John Gayer that they might be given to Sir William Morris who had set out from Surat on his journey to the Mughal's Court, January 27, 1701. By means of bribes,¹ the English Company now prepared to strike a blow which it was hoped would be fatal to the old Factory. Taking advantage of the fact that Sir John Gayer was unprotected at Swally , the Governor's son marched from Surat with fifty horse and foot soldiers, seized Sir John Gayer, his wife and several Factors, conveyed them all to Surat and then closely confined them in the Governor's house, acting on an order which had arrived from the Mughal on February 8, 1701 "to seize on the property and servants of the London Company." "This was done by an order from the Court," wrote the servants of the old Company, "procured by Sir Nicholas Waite the Hircarra of Surat and others of that hellish crew." After fourteen days, Sir John Gayer and his friends were removed to their

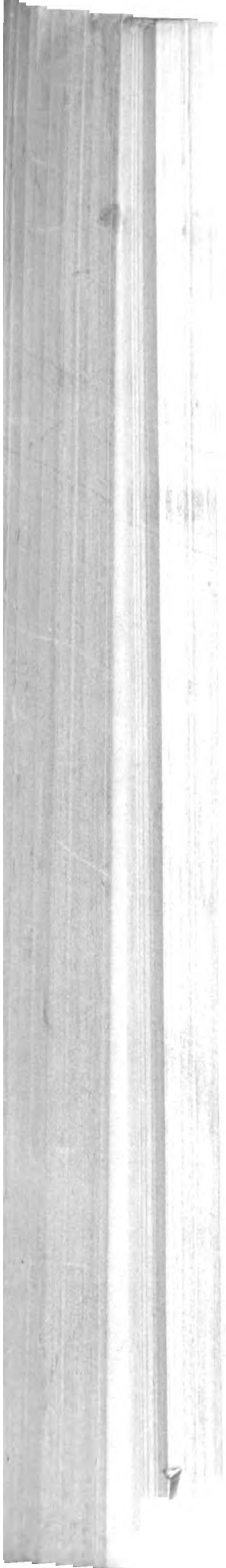
1. Bruce, p 379.
Anderson, p 149.



Factory on the representation of the Surat Merchants that they could not send their ships to sea unless they were furnished with recommendatory letters by the President of the London Company. This obtained a partial deliverance for them, but the General and President were confined to their house, on which a guard was placed. An offer was made by the Governor that if two and one half lakhs of rupees were paid to Houssein Amir-ud-diⁿ and other Merchants who suffered from pirates, they would not only be set at liberty, but allowed to proceed with their trade. But this offer was refused and Sir John Gayer, in a private letter, to the Court on March 20, 1701, suggested the plan of withdrawing the Factory at Surat for some time, in which case, the demands for compensation for pirates would at once be transferred to the English Company.

Sir John Gayer and Mr. Colt continued to be confined in the Factory in spite of their earnest remonstrances. The list of those who were thus confined in prison in January, 1702, includes the names of Sir John Gayer,

1. The primary authorities for the above facts, are:- Letters from the President and Council at Surat to the Court of the London Company, April 20, Dec. 28, 1700 March 7, 20, 1701. Letter (private) from Sir John Gayer to the Court, March 20, 1701; Letters from the General and Council and from the Deputy Governor of Bombay to the Court of the London Company, May 10, 1700, March 25-27, 1701. Letters from the Presidency of Surat to the General and Council at Bombay, Nov. 14, 18, 1700. Correspondence between Sir John Gayer and the President and Council at Surat Nov. 25, 27, Dec. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 24, 26, 27, 1700, Jan. 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 13, 15, 22, 23, 28, 1701. Letters



President, six Senior Factors , six Junior Factors, seven Writers, six ladies , two children, two Surgeons, William Stephens, Captain Raynor and fifteen seamen, a Sergeant, thirty-one soldiers, twenty-four slaves and three cooks, besides a Factor and Writer who were at Broach - in all 109 persons ¹ . They were not permitted to pass the gates of their own buildings and could only receive a daily allowance of provisions.

Affairs were in this state when news arrived from England ² of the Union of the two Companies on July 22, 1702, which had been under negotiation for some time. Sir Nicholas Waite intimated the event in a formal manner to Sir John Gayer and he with equal formality notified it to the Consul, each professing readiness to adopt measures for mutual interests in obedience to orders , but neither reposing confidence in the professions of the other. ³ On receiving the intelligence of the Union, Sir John Gayer at once communicated the fact to the Governor of Surat , as an event which he trusted would do away with all future opposition to English interests. This was regarded by Waite as unfriendly to the interests of the English

between Sir John Gayer , the President and Council at Surat and Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council, Oct. 14, 16, 18, 19, 24, Nov. 9, 18, Dec. 26, 1700, Jan. 3, 25, 31, 1701.

1. Anderson, p 149.
2. Bruce, p 494 and 512.
3. Bruce, p 519.



Company. In such ways, a general unfriendly feeling was manifested, though all open opposition of course ceased. ¹

1. The primary authorities for the above facts are:-
Letters from the Court of Directors of the London Company to the General, President and Council at Bombay and Surat, July, 26, Aug. 4, 1702, March 2, 3, 27, 1703.
Letters from the Court of Directors of the English Company to Sir Nicholas Waite and Council at Surat, May 2, Aug. 6, 18, 20, 28, 1702.



CHAPTER IV.

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY AT MASULIPATAN.

Mr. John Pitt , the "Interloper" so frequently mentioned in the annals of the London Company was appointed President of all the English settlements on the Coast of the Coromandel and King's Consul for the English nation in that part of India by the Directors of the English Company. His general instructions were very similar to those given to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat. The limits of his Presidency¹ were described as extending from Cape Comerin to Point Palmiras, and the residence of the President and Council was to be at Madapollam. This Council was to consist of Mr. John Graham , Mr. Valentine Knightly , Mr. William Tillard and Mr. Micheal Watts. In addition a Factory was to be established at Porto Novo and Mr. Charles Fleetwood , a dismissed servant of the London Company was appointed Chief. Beside these special instructions were given to Consul Pitt to endeavor to procure from Mr. Elihu Yale, late President of Fort St. George, who was supposed to be still in Madras, copies of all Firmans and Nishans franted to the London Company on the Coromandel and to transmit them to Sir William Norris, the Ambassador as ground for his application to the Mughal

1. Bruce, p 285.

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for new Firmans for the English Company.

On July 3, 1699, the English Company's ship "London"² arrived off Madras, having on board their principle Factors and on July 28, their ship "De Grave", Captain William Young commanding, anchored in the Madras Road. The Consul, immediately on his arrival dispatched the following letter to Mr. Thomas Pitt, his cousin, who was President³ of the London Company's settlement at Fort St. George:

To the Worshipful Thomas Pitt, Esquire, President for the affairs of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies yet, by permission on the Coast of the Coromandel:

Sir:

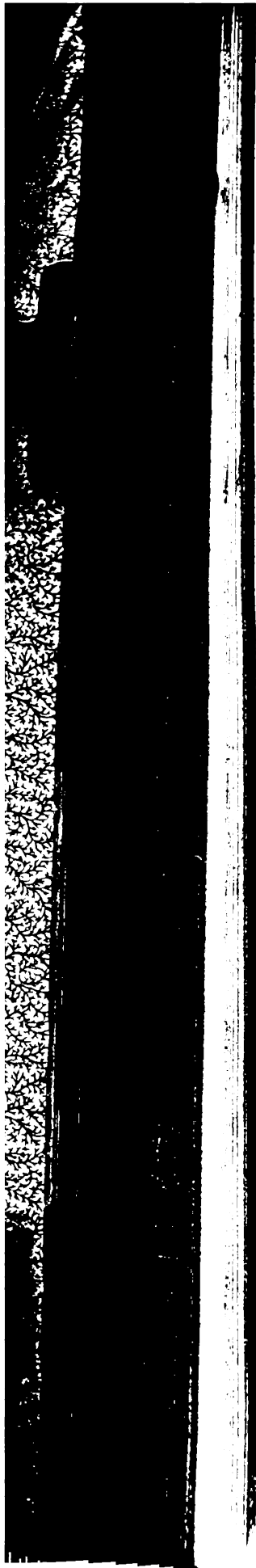
I did by some of Early Shippes let you know that I had engag'd my Self in the Service of the Honble: English Company....lately Settled by Act of Parliament which determin'd yours in three years commencing last Michealmas, and having gain'd the Coast cou'd not pass by without dropping an Anchor in Madras Road, and wou'd Salute you, had I not the Honour to bear hisMajestiesCommission which constitutes me his Minister or Consull for the English Nation in Generall on the whole Coast of Cormandell including

1. Bruce, p 286.

Commissions and Instructions from the Court of the English Company to President Pitt and Council on the Coromandel Coast, Feb. 23, 1699. Letters from the Court to the President and Council on the Coast of Coromandel, Jan. 6, Feb. 23, 28, 1699.

2. Bruce, 319.

3. Wheeler, p 347.
Hedges, Vol.111, XL1.



all your Settlements. If you think fitt to pay the respect that is due to the Character with your^P flagg Lower'd the Compliment shall be return 'd you by

"Sir: Your affect: Kinsman and Servt:

"J.P . "

The answer of President Pitt to this demand was no less authoritative. It was as follows:¹

Fort St. George, July 28:99.

Sir:

"I received yours the purport of which seems very odd as well as the Superscription. If you had read the Act of Parliament, and well Consider'd it, you will find that it Establishes my Masters in all rights and privileges in these parts till 1701, and afterwards 'tis Secur'd to them by their Subscription, therefore you can have noe power in any place of their Settlements, nor shall I own any till I am Soe order'd by those that intrust me.

"I am not unacquainted with what respect is due to the Kings Consull (whether you are one I know not) but you cannot (think) or ever have heard that an Ancient Fortification wearing the Kings Flagg, Shou'd lower it and Salute a reall Consull; but I take it to be your Obligation to have Saluted the Flagg ashore at your comeing to anchor which wee Shou'd have answer'd according to customs and good manners.

1. Wheeler, p 348.
Hedges Vol. III, XLII.

"What Liquors (sic, but qy. Letters?) you have for me I desire you to send on Shore in these Boats. You must expect to find me not less zealous for my masters interest, than you are for yours and as you act the same will be return'd you by

" Sir your affection' : Kinsman

"and humble servant

"Tho: Pitt, Governor."

The following is also found, but whether it is a postscript or a separate (earlier) communication does not appear clearly :¹

"A copy of a Farag. in a letter from President Pitt at Ft. St. George (Vst.)"

Sir:

"I find you are a Young Consull by the purport and Superscription of your letter. I wish you had omitted it."

"To John Pitt Esq.

"On board the Degrave."

To these the "young Consul" answered in much wrath :²

On Board the Degrave in

Madras Roads, July 28, 1699.

Sir:

"I am sorry to find the zeal for your Masters has Transported you beyond Sense and Good Manners. I shall Impute it in part to the heat of the Country which has

1. Hedges, Vol. 111, XL11.
2. Hedges, Vol. 111, XL111.

alter'd your Temper.

"The Young Consull as you term him gives you this advice to mind the main Chance and not forfeit Old Saram &ca: and expose your Self to the World to boot; who I doe assure you will much censure and blaim this rashness of yours, and let me tell you your Masters will neither Thank tyou and bear you out in't. I came later from England then your advices.

"J.P."

" I shall send your Letters from Metchlepatam and doe not question A just Accompt from you of my private **Affair**. You'll know in the end I am not to be taught my Duty by you".

" July 28.99."

"J.P."

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And again:

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" I shall answer your Scarrilous Letter from Mechlepatam and believe me you'll wish you had never wrote in such a Stile. I'll take such measures to make you Sencible that my Commission reaches over all your Settlements and you your selfe Shall be forc't to own and publish it in all your Ports and Settlements and beg pardon for the affront offer'd to the Character of his Majesties Consull.

"J.P."

Superscribed " To Tho. Pitt Esqr: in Madras.

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After this Consul Pitt sailed to Masulipatam where he arrived in the month of August, 1699, at which he proposed to establish the seat of the English Company's

1. Hedges, Vol. 111, XL111.

Wheeler, p 348.

2. Bruce, p 320.

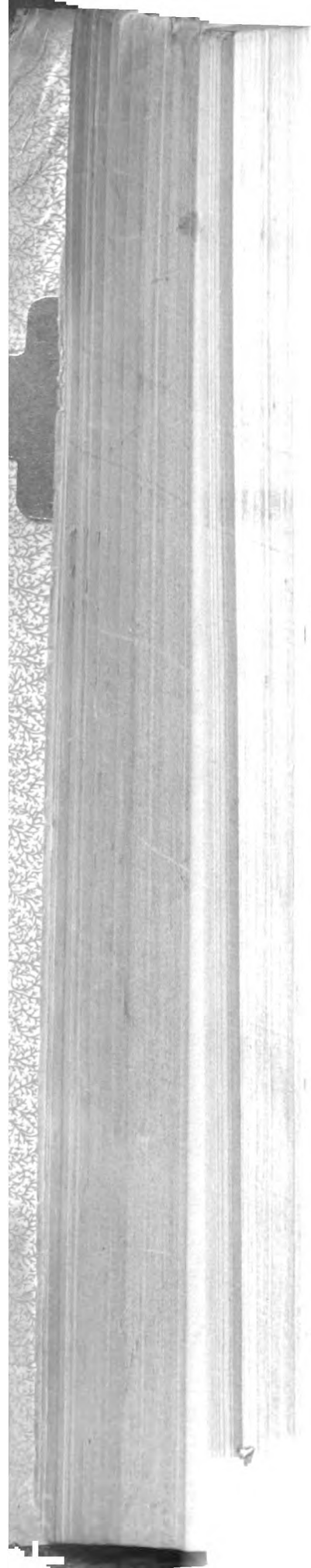
trade. Here he secured a Factory and proceeded to form his Council on the same principles as observed by the London Company, and immediately made application through the Mughal for protection. He also engaged a Signor Manucahy or Manuchij (properly Manucci) - ¹ a resident of the Country and servant of Consul Pitt, when he acted as an "interloper" - to be linguist for the Embassy. Immediately upon his arrival at Masulipatam, ² Consul Pitt notified his character to Mr. Lovell, the Agent of the London Company at that place and their Factors, and required them to attend him that they might be informed of the powers with which he was vested by hearing his commission read; an order to which Mr. Lovell and his colleagues paid no attention. At the same time he addressed a letter ³ to the Nawab of Golconda, intimating his arrival and character as Consul of the English nation, with a request for a Parwana to be free from customs on trade till such time as the Ambassador could obtain a Firman from the Mughal. The object of these proceedings, Consul Pitt explained to the English Company's Consul in Bengal to be the commencement of measures for purchasing an investment, the Parwana being necessary to induce the Country Merchants to open business with him.

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1. Bruce, p 330, and 342.
Hedges Vol. III, XLV.
 2. Bruce p
Hedges Vol. III, XL IV.
 3. Bruce, p 342.

While these events were occurring, Consul Pitt not being satisfied with his reception at Masulipatam was disposed rather to accept the offer of a station at Madapellan. His next step was to send an official notification¹ to President Pitt at Ft. St. George, of his office as King's Consul for the English nation on the Coromandel Coast and to require that his Commission should be publicly read at Ft. St. George, the town of Madras, at Vizagapatam and in general at all the Factories and Stations of the London Company. President Pitt immediately issued an ordinance under the Company's seal to all their servants under his authority, as follows:³

" Wee the Governour President and Council of Fort St. George for affairs of the Right Honble: the East India Company, being advised that Mr. John Pitt lately arrived at Masulipatam has by a summons wherein he styles himself the New Companys President and the Kings Consull for the Coast, directed to our Companys Factors there, wherein he seems to usurp an Authority over them, and to intermeddle with our Companys Affaires, the pernicious consequences of which being well Considered by us have thought fitt to send out these our orders to all our Forts, Castles, Towns and Factorys under this Presidency for the following reasons.

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1. Bruce, p 343.
 2. *Ibid*, p 343.
 3. Hedges, Vol. 111, XLIV.



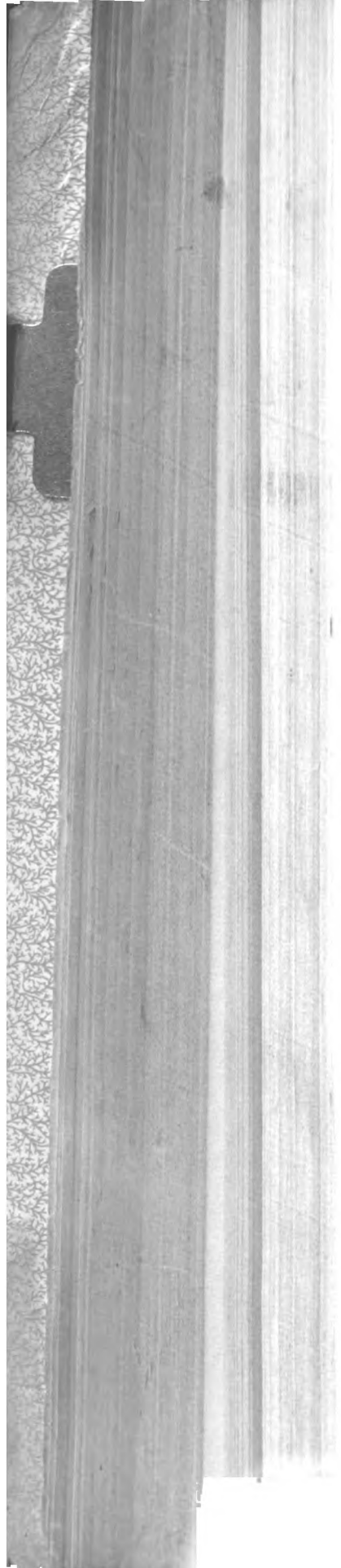
" For that the Act of Parliament which erects the New East India Company continues our Company Trade till September 1701, from whence wee Infer that they are to Enjoy all their Rights and Privileges and there Governours, Presidents and Factorys to exercise all powers necessary for the Supports of your Governments and Trades.

" Moreover wee observe in the Act our Company are exempted from paying the five per cent. which is for bearing the Charge of Embassadors and Consuls from which wee likewise infer that our Company's affairs nor Servants nor any Trading under there protection in these parts are under direction or controul.

" Wherefore for the foregoing reasons and to prevent the great mischiefs that otherwise will undoubtedly attend our Masters affaires wee require all English in our Companys Service as also all that live and Trade under their protection not to obey nor regard any Summons or orders that they shall receive from Mr. John Pitt or any one else under the pretence of his being a President for the New Company or a Consull.

"Wee resolve to persist in this Opinion till his most Gracious Majesties Pleasure be Signified to us, or that our Honble: Employers give us direction herein.

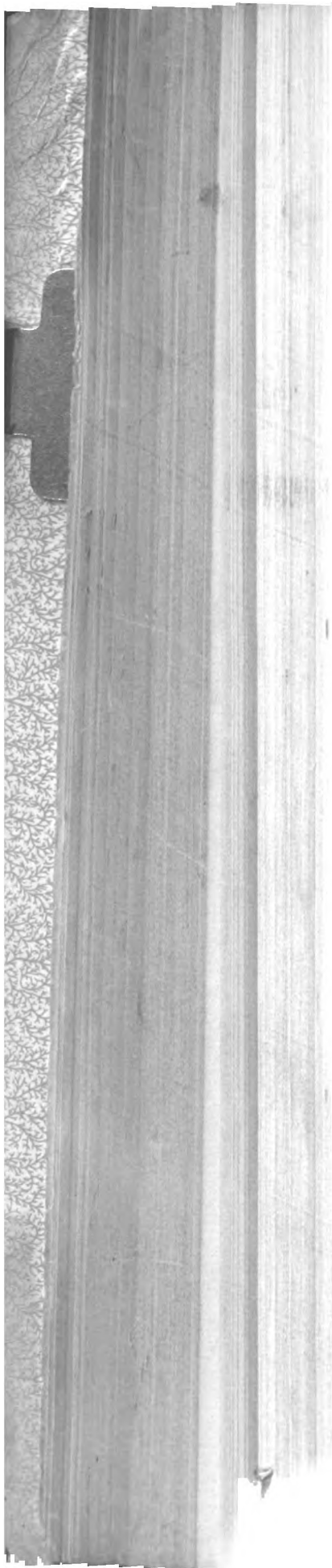
" In Confirmation whereof Wee have here unto Sett our hands and the Seale of our Company: At Fort St. George in the city of Maderasse this 23 day of August 1699.



(Signed) " Thomas Pitt
 " Francis Ellis
 " Ro: Braddyll
 " Tho: Wright
 " M: Empson
 " Tho: Marshall
 " Richard Watts."

In this situation Consul Pitt¹ addressed an official letter to the Court of Directors to the English Company, explaining that it would be difficult on account of the state of the country exhausted by wars and famine to procure an investment, but that his intention was, since he had obtained a copy of the old Firman from the King of Golconda to the London Company(the only one that had been given in the name of the English nation) to persuade the native officers if possible to allow him the same privileges under it which had been conferred on the London Company. With this grant as a foundation he intended to settle a Factory at Armagaum at which he had obtained a Cowle for trade; but he explained that this project was impeded by the London Company's Agent who had impressed the native officers with the opinion that the English Company were not entitled to any privileges that had been confirmed by the Mughal to the London Company .

Affairs were thus situated when Sir William Norris the King's Ambassador to the Great Mughal arrived at



Masulipatam in September , 1699, and sent Mr. Harlewyne to notify his character as Ambassador from the King of England to the Great Moghal, to the Native Governor;¹ and to desire information concerning the residence of the Moghal . All these proceedings appeared equally unintelligible to the natives who could not comprehend the meaning of the new Association of English Merchants arriving to question the authority of those whom they observed to be still in possession of the fortified stations and Factories, the recognized seats of English trade- especially as President Pitt and his Council at Ft. St. George disavowed all authority of both ambassador and Consul over the London Company's affairs. To remove this impression, Consul Pitt addressed the following letter to Mr. Lovell:²

Metchelpatam 21 Septem^r 1699.

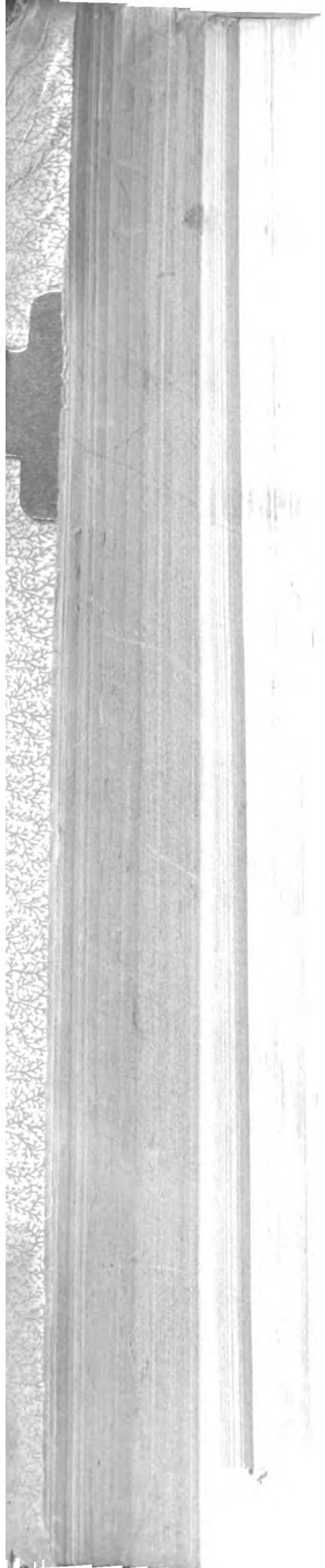
Sir:

" Tho' you were so rude not to let me have your Company at my landing, and so impudent, I will not give it a worse name, not to take notice of the Sumons I sent you to appear at our Factory when I read my Commission, yet I shall not omitt giving you notice of the arrivall of his Excellancy Sir Wm. Norris Baronet Ambassador extraordinary from the King of England to the Great Mogull convey'd by 4 Men of Warr, and that he designs to come ashore in a day or

1. Bruce, p 345.

Wheeler, p 349.

2. Hedges, Vol. lll, Llll.



two, and expects that you and the rest of the English belonging too and residing in your Factory doe make your appearance at his Landing, to pay your duty and attend him to his Lodgings, let me advise you as a friend not to omitt it for your neglect will be taken for contempt and greater Inconveniency's will follow upon't than you are aware of.

▪ Your Father was very instrumentall in Saving the life of an acquaintance of mine which I shall always own and would not have you run your Self in a Nooze for want of a little good advice from

▪ Pitt▪.

To this Mr. Lovell answered:

Not dated, but should be

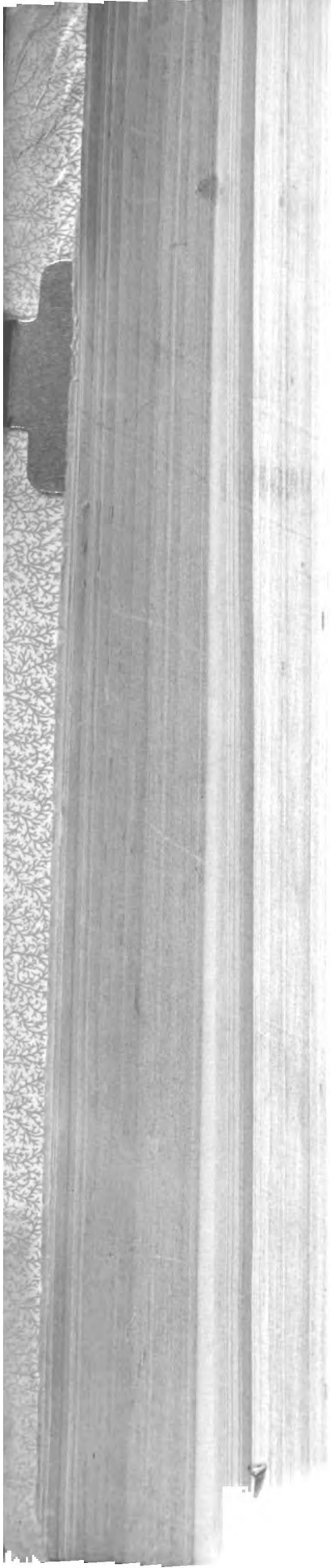
Metchlepatam, 23^d Sept. 1699.

▪ Honble Sir:

Last night I received your paper bearing date the 21st Inst. charging me with Rudeness and Impudence in not obeying your former Summons. I hope the copy of the order which comes herewith will clear me of't.

▪ I shall undoubtedly pay my respects to his Excellency Sir Wm. Norris at his Landing, if you will please let me know the day and time he designs to come.

▪ I am heartily Glad my father hath Serv'd you in anything to deserve your favour and it would be an unspeakable Joy to me could I doe the same, and Shew you how much



I am " Honble Sir:

"Your most humble Servt:

" Thos. Lovell.

"To the Honble

"Jno Pitt Esqr:

"Present in Matchlepn. "

This compliance of Mr. Lovell caused him to be suspected later of betraying the interests of the London Company.¹

On hearing of it President Pitt at once declared that neither the Ambassador nor Consul possessed any authority over the London Company's privileges or interests.

Consul Pitt, at this juncture, writing to the Court of the state of affairs under his charge complained that " the proceedings of the President of the London Company had been insidious and in contempt of the King's authority, since he represented the Ambassador as paid by Merchants only and not sent by the King.² " He further declared that the native merchants had been bribed in favor of the London Company, thus causing the investment to proceed with difficulty. His letter ended with a statement that President Pitt had issued a protest prohibiting all under his jurisdiction from paying obedience to the orders of the Ambassador. Under such circumstances Consul Pitt stated that he had adopted every practicable measure for obtaining³

1. Bruce, p 344.
Wheeler, p 351.
2. Bruce, p 346-7.
3. Ibid, p 347.

stations of trade; that he had solicited a grant of Deveramput and Madapollam to be held in the same manner as the London Company held Fort St. George and Fort St. David and though he had obtained permission to trade for 250 pagodas per annum, the removal of the Nawab who had been replaced by "Meddea Kahn Beague" rendered this ineffectual; but that he had purchased a piece of ground at Madapollam for 1000 pagodas on which it was his intention to erect a Factory.¹ The situation on the Coromandel Coast changed however during the following year, 1700.

The ineffectual attempts at a Union and later the Act continuing the London Company as a Corporation changed the policy of both sides. On the one hand, the London Company commended the firmness in resisting the claims of Consul Pitt and Sir William Norris and distinctly explained that the Ambassador had no public orders from the

1. The primary authorities for the above facts, are Correspondence between President Thomas Pitt and Council at Fort St. George and Consul John Pitt and Sir Wm. Norris at Masulipatam, Aug. 20, 23, 26, Sept. 21, 1699, Jan. 16, 1700. Letters from Consul Pitt and Council at Masulipatam to the Court of Directors of the English Company and correspondence between Consul Pitt and the President and Agent of the London Company, July 26, 28, Aug. 2, 7, 8, 26, Sept. 13, 19, 21, 24, Nov. 9, Dec. 13, 1699, March 14, 1700. Letter from Consul Pitt to the Nawab Ullah Kahn Aug. 9, 1699. Letters from Consul Pitt to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat Sept. 6, Oct. 21, 23, 1699, Jan. 16, 1700. Letters from Consul Pitt to Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal Aug. 10, 18, 27, Oct. 13, 1699. Letters from Sir Wm. Norris, the Ambassador to the Court of the English Company, Jan. 1, March 12, 1700. Letter from Mr. Norris, Sec'y of the Embassy to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat Oct. 21, 1699. Letter from Lucas the "interloper" at Ahmedabad to Consul Pitt, Nov. 2, 1699.

2. Letters from the Court to the President and Council at Ft. St. George, June 18, 26, Aug. 21, Nov. 20, Dec. 6, 1700, Jan. 8, 15, Feb. 14, 1701.

Government to do anything to the detriment of the London Company and urged that their Agent should be firm in resisting the claims of their rivals in every way. These instructions President Pitt carried out literally. For when Sir Nicholas Waite threatened to interrupt the London Company's ships and trade, passing from the Coromandel to the Malabar Coast, President Pitt avowed his resolution to fit out a strong privateer and make reprisals on the English Company's ships wherever they could be found.

On the other hand the Directors of the English Company after stating the ineffectual attempts at a Union, directed Consul Pitt "to endeavor to rival the London Company's trade, without arrogating powers to command or to control their proceedings", thus showing plainly a desire for commercial competition only. They further recommended "that if President Pitt would not acknowledge the character of Consul Pitt, the latter should abstain from all quarrels on the subject, because by courteous behaviour towards him and the natives, he could better than by any other means introduce the English Company into a share, and in all probability to a preference in the markets."

As a result of these orders Consul Pitt complained "that his own situation was particularly distressing,"

1. Bruce, p 363.

2. Ibid, p 360.

3. Ibid, p 389.

Letters from the Court of Directors of the English Company to their President and Council on the Coast of the Coromandel, April 5, May 9, Sept. 7, Nov. 28, Dec. 19, 1700, Feb. 13, 1701.

4. Bruce, p 414.

as it would have been better he had not been vested with the Commission of Consul unless he had been able to render his orders efficient; for the Government of Madras disregarded and disavowed his authority which had

CHAPTER V.
 Sir Edward Littleton a dismissed servant of the London Company, who was appointed President and Consul of a settlement at Porto Novo." His position was further disturbed by certain troubles with the Ambassador who accused him of being jealous of his authority is not out with instructions similar to those given to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat and to Mr. John² Pitt on the Coromandel Coast. Before Sir Edward Littleton³ left England, actually in the pay of President Pitt.

During 1701, the necessity of a Union between the two Companies became more and more apparent as the commercial to whom they had entrusted their foreign trade had animosity increased. And when, in 1702, the terms of the Union feated itself. From his postponing his sailing from the Downs when the wind was fair, the Court on February 8, 1699, sent orders to their servants" to forget former injuries dismissed him from their service and appointed Mr. Richard Trenchfield to be President in Bengal on the assumption that with them in one mutual system of effort, to lower the if Sir Edward Littleton⁴ was negligent before he left prices of Coast goods."

England, he would not be less so on his arrival in India.

But scarcely had this dismissal been made known, when on

February 7, 1699, at the intercession of his friends, 11

1. Letters (general) from Consul Pitt at Masulpitam and Madapollam to the Court, Sept. 24, 1700, March 10, 1701.

2. These troubles will be described in a later chapter.

3. Bruce, p 430.

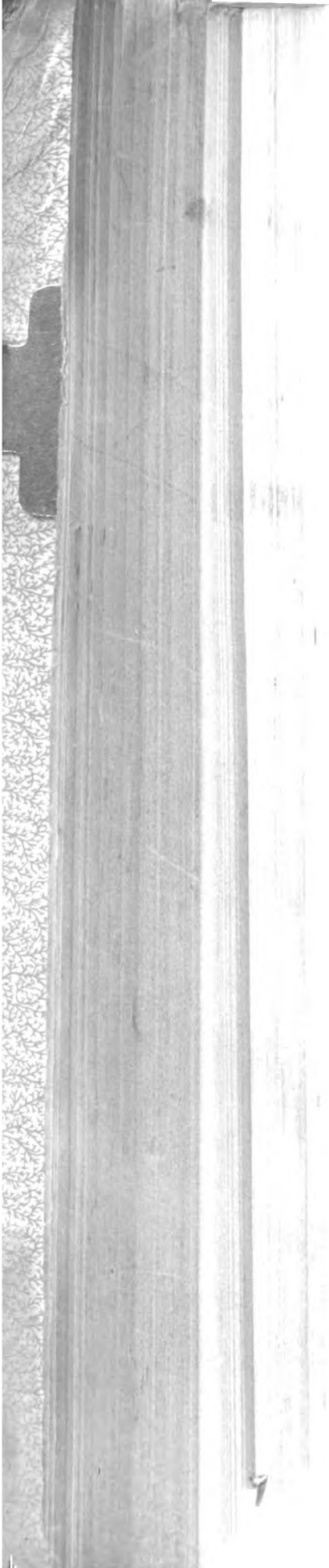
4. Letters from the Court of Directors of the London

Company to the President and Council at Ft. St. George, he Sept. 17, 1701, Feb. 14, March 6, 13, 1702.

might consider necessary. To promote the great object of

1. Bruce, p 430. (Footnote)

2. Hedges, Vol. 11, p. 30V.



9

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY AT HUGLI.

Sir Edward Littleton a dismissed servant of the London Company, who was appointed President and Consul for the English Company on the Bay of Bengal, was sent out with instructions similar to those given to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat and to Mr. John Pitt on the Coromandel Coast. Before Sir Edward Littleton left England, the suspicions of the Court of Directors of the persons to whom they had entrusted their foreign trade had manifested itself.¹ From his postponing his sailing from the Downs when the wind was fair, the Court on February 2, 1699, dismissed him from their service and appointed Mr. Richard Trenchfield to be President in Bengal on the assumption that if Sir Edward Littleton was negligent before he left England, he would not be less so on his arrival in India. But scarcely had this dismissal been made known, when on February 7, 1699, at the intercession of his friends, it was revoked and his original appointment confirmed. Sir Edward Littleton's Council consisted of² Mr. Richard Trenchfield, Mr. Hedges and Mr. George Guy with powers to the President to make such additions to this number as he might consider necessary. To promote the great object of

1. BRUCE, p. 212. (Footnote)
 2. BRUCE, p. 213.
 2. Hedges, Vol. 11, p. 66V.

the Embassy to the Mughal, Sir Edward Littleton and his Council were directed to investigate the nature and extent of the privileges which the London Company had hitherto possessed in Bengal, to make translations of all Firmans which they enjoyed and to transmit them to Sir William Norris with any observations which might occur to them in Council on the subject of such further privileges as it would be expedient to solicit. He was also ordered to make a particular report on the rights and trade of the London Company and to transmit one copy to the Ambassador¹ and one to the Court of Directors. The commercial² instructions ordered the President and Council to endeavor to establish Factories at Hugli, Kasimbazar, Balasor, Dacca and Maldah and to make the investment as large as possible in raw silk, pepper, long pepper, and drugs³ and in Japan and China goods.

Littleton was knighted before his departure from England on January 15, 1699. He arrived at Balasor in Orissa on July 28, 1699, and at once notified Mr. John Beard, Junior, then filling the office of Agent for the London Company at Chatanati or Calcutta. of his character as President of the English Company and Consul for the English nation in Bengal in the following letter:⁴

¹ Bruce, p 284.

² Ibid, p 285.

³ The primary authorities for the above facts are, Commissions and Instructions from the Court of Directors of the English Company to Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal, Jan. 12, 1699, Letters from the Court to the President and Council in Bengal, Jan. 16, Feb. 25, April 4, 1699.

⁴ Bruce, p 323 and 346. Hedges, Vol. 11, CCVI.

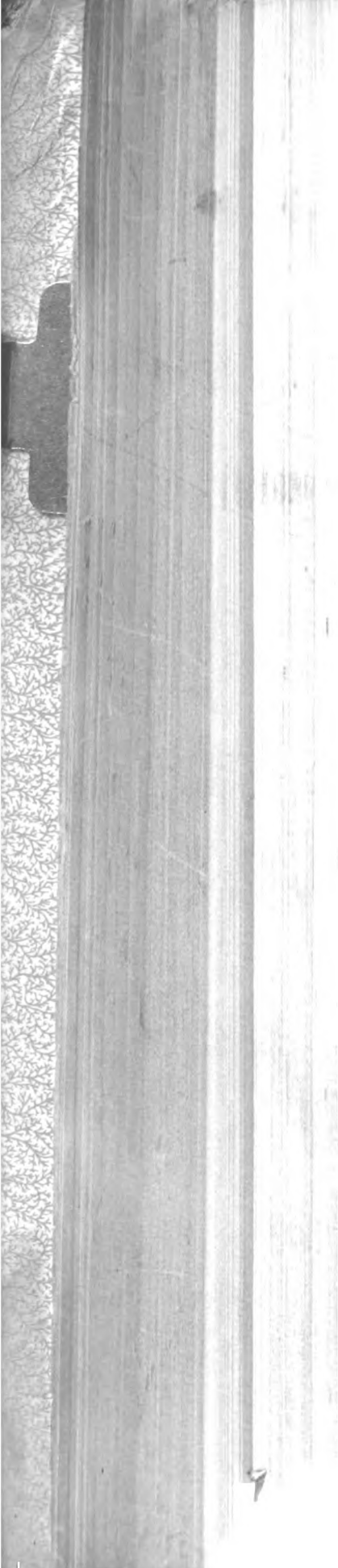
Mr. John Beard

Dated Ballasore 29th July 99.

Much esteemed Friend

Sir, The Generall herewith to your Self and those in Ceuncill Employ or Commission with you is not in the least from any disrespect to your Self, for whom I have no mean esteem, nor to any of the rest who are known to mee only by name or employ, but intirely to represent unto you the true state of the case, being it may be supposed you have not had any full account thereof from your employers except by the Antelope, this affair of the Consulship being transacted as I take it, chiefly after the departare of your Ships, and to prevent any unhappy occurrence which might otherwise perhaps succeed, nor is there any design in the least therein to embarrasse or obstruct the currency of your affaires, as in practise you will find, nor create any difference between us , but rather a firmer and stricter Friendship and correspondence, and will certainly prove so if ne no failure on your part, which I will not suspect.

I must profess an absolute ignorance of your Employers orders or designs, but as a reall friend I do take upon mee to advise you that whereas upon the arrivall of Ships particular there hath been frequently application made to the Government against them, and odious calumnies cast upon them which probably may have caus'd recriminations and have all tended not only the National prejudice but even to (that of) Christianity itself. Wee are now come on



9

Parliamentary Sanction, the greatest Authority our Nation affords, So may not expect any Such usage, however think it not amiss that you are warned thereof for the resentment of our Employers for Such Actions may be Such as may cause the end to prove very bitter and possibly fatal to the Actors nor can you think but wee Shall be as vigorous on our part as you Shall be Vehement on yours nor will our hands wax weaker but Stronger Dayly.

* The affaires of the Durbar with respect to the English Intrest will center in the Consull, So to be foreborne by all others, also all Passes for Ships, So that you will do well to let Such know thereof least they do bring them Selves under some disappointment.

* You must needs know that at our first coming wee are to Seek for (?): needful things especially Small vessels and Pilots. I am not for withdrawing any Mens Servants against their Masters consent, but yet had rather our own Countrymen doe reap the benefit then aliens. So that if you think not fit to Spare any your Self yet it may not be imprudent not to hinder any others but should be willing thereto. Know not how to Speak so plain in this matter as otherwise I might being a stranger to your circumstances and directions, but am well assured nothing will be done of service to our Employers by any persons but will Surely meet with very grateful acceptance and remuneration.

* I ad not more. Let not what is offered with the

Right hand be received with the Left: "I am

"Your Reall friend and humble servant

"Edward Littleton".

Mr. Beard with much firmness evaded the acknowledgement of this authority as requested by Littleton,¹ which he showed by refusing to salute his flag as he passed Calcutta and by rejecting his authority as Consul over the London Company's servants and Factories. Mr. Beard explained his conduct to proceed from his duty to the London Company to defend their rights and to maintain the full enjoyment of their privileges till September, 1701, under the Mughal's Firmans and the Princes Nishans; adding that "their (the London Company's) servants were more competent to manage the interests of their superiors and of the English nation, than strangers whatever their rank or character might be, who could only be competent to act and to preserve such rights as they might purchase or acquire". And writing to Surat dated at "Chuttanutta, August 9, 1699"² Mr. Beard said:

"The 4th of last month the Antelope arriv'd in Ballasore Road with S^r Edward Littleton, President for the New Company's Affairs, and he says Consull for the English Nation, having the King's Commission..... One answer to him in generall that we will espouse our Masters Interest

1. Bruce, p 324 and 348.

2. Hedges, Vol.11, p CCVlll.

according to orders received from them, and thought it
 (more) proper to manage the Durbar business for our
 R H. M.'s Affaires then to address him, since we had
 better footing.... withall we assured him we would not
 represent his Interest in false colours to the Gov, as his
 friends had maliciously done our Masters in Suratt, yet
 if he begun we would not cross eudgels with any contenders.
 We are not att. all surprized with these matters,
 which may make a noise for a time, and att last a trade
 will center in the old bottom again"....

Sir Edward Littleton, indignant at this reception,
 addressed a complaint to the Duke of Shrewsbury as fol-
 1
 lows:

Dated "Hugly the pr Jany. 1699"

" May it please your Highness

"The Duty of the Station His Majesty hath been gracious-
 ly pleased to place mee requiers my corresponding with
 and giving your Highness Acet. of what passes here relating
 to his Majesty and my Employ under his Majesty.

"As soon as I arrived in these parts I gave Notice
 to the Gentlemen residing here on behalfe of the Old East
 India Company of the Character his Gracious Majesty was
 pleased to give mee but in answer they tooke noe notice
 of his Majesty's Character (Charter?) but to disowne any
 power his Majesty had on that account, and would own noe

1. Bruce, p 349.
 Hedges, Vol. 11, p CCVII.

Authority but what came from their Masters, upon my coming to this place I passed by their Chiefe Factory and having his Majesty's Flagg at the Top of our Mast they were soe far from takeing notice thereof in the Least that tho' its usual for them to spread their Colours on the Least Vessels passing by, yett now in mere affront to the Consular Dignity they not only forebore to spread any Coulours themselves, but prevented all Shippes of the English there, of which there were diverse, from taking any notice of the Kings Flagg alwayes usuall heretofore, and they having at that time a servant of the New Company in their Factor y on his Complaint, I sent two of my Company to demand his Liberty, which was not only refused but on the 20th September, being three days after, fixes a pestilent Paper upon the Gate of the Factory of very trayterous import, a true Copy whereof goes herewith by which your Highness will perceiv what sorte of Subjects the English in the old Companies Service are, and his Majesty will alsoe see how much his Authority is here Villified by those to whome on many accounts he had been exceeding gracious, even to Admiration. I shall not trouble your Highness further at this time, another opportunity more secure being at hand.

I am

•Your Highness Most Obedient Servt.

Edw: Littleton. •

Some months elapsed before Sir Edward Littleton could, on January 20, 1700, obtained permission to trade and

therefore he explained to his superiors that the investment had been purchased with difficulty, and that it would be very late in the season before the ship could be dispatched.¹ After various applications by the Consul and refusals by Mr. Beard a prohibition was fixed on the gates of Calcutta, by order of Mr. Beard and his Council, enjoining all the English under their orders and protection to refuse obedience to any commands of President Littleton. It was to this proclamation that Littleton referred in his letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury. In these circumstances Sir Edward's situation was embarrassing in the extreme two of his Council had died as well as a number of young men in the Civil Service. The mortality also extended to the small military force which had been embarked under a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign intended to form his guard.²

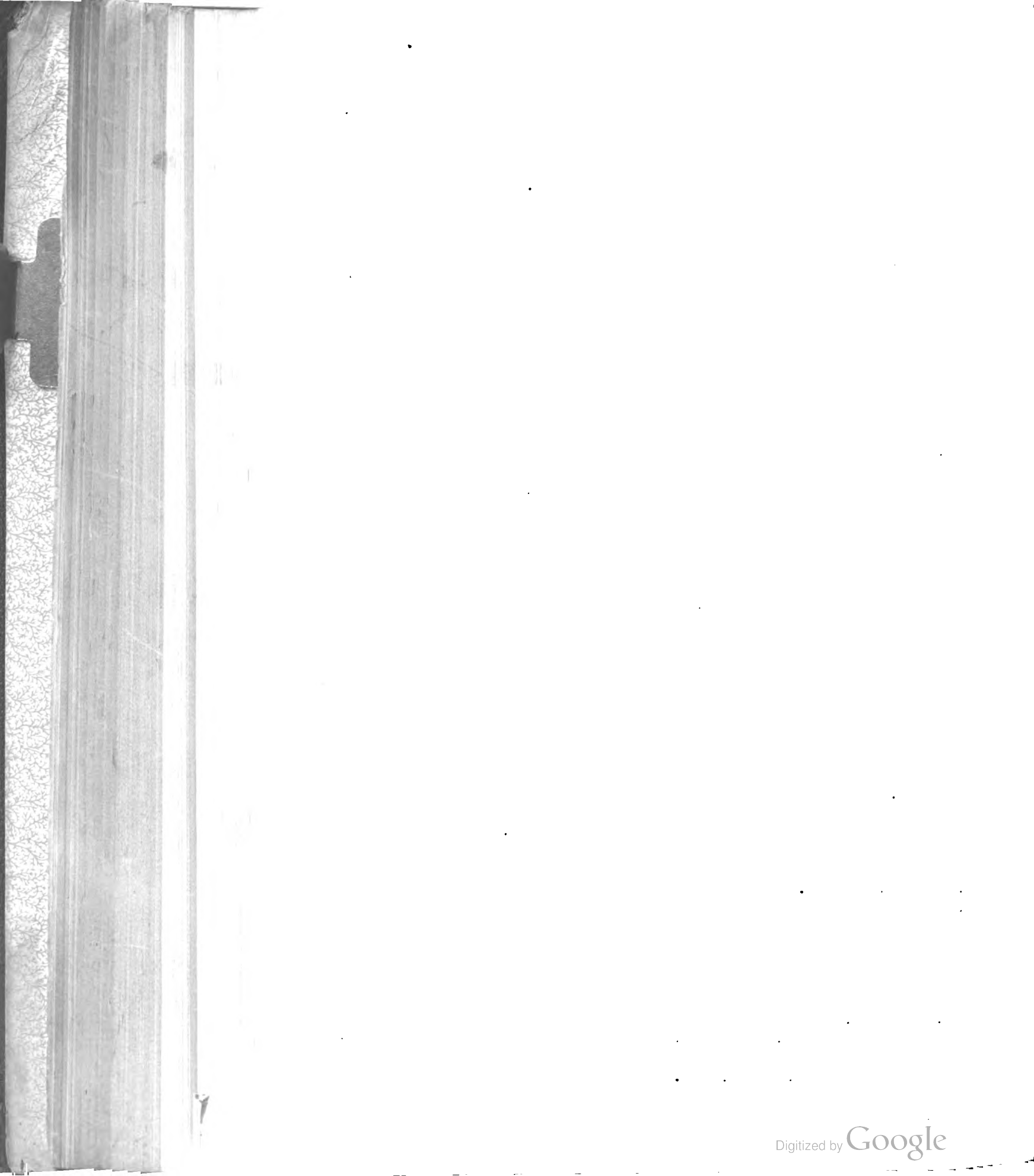
With the year 1700 came directions from the Court of Directors for a change of system with regard to the London Company.³ The same moderation was enjoined as had been given to the Consuls at Surat and on the Coast. The Court mere-

1. Bruce, p 349.

2. The primary authorities for the above facts are, Letters between Agent Beard at Calcutta and Sir Edward Littleton at

Ballasor July 28, 29, 1699. Letter from Agent Beard and Council in Calcutta to the General and Council in Bombay Aug. 9, 1699. Letter from Sir Edward Littleton to the Duke of Shrewsbury Jan. 1, 1700. Letter from Sir Edward Littleton and Council at Hugli etc the President and Council at Masulipatam, Feb. 13, 1700. Letter from Sir Edward Littleton and Council at Hugli to the Court of Directors, March 16, 1700.

3. Bruce, p 392.



ly desired "to out-trade" the London Company in Bengal. The only separate instructions were that in any grant they might obtain they were to, avoid the condition of paying the 3000 rupees for permission for each vessel to load, and to procure an exemption from stoppage of their boats on the Ganges by the subordinate officers.¹ In reply to these directions Sir Edward Littleton stated,² that at first he could only obtain the same terms which had been granted to "interlopers", that is, to pay 3000 rupees for permission to make sales and purchases for each ship and give security for 6000 more should the Ambassador not procure a Firman within a year; that under the temporary permission which had been purchased, he had established Factories at Ballasor and Dacca but from want of Factors and Writers properly qualified, he had not attempted a Factory at Kasimbazar or Maldah, until he knew the issue of the application for the Firman it would not be prudent to enlarge the trade or to pay further rents for buildings or ware-houses because there would be more chargeable than any expenses which would be incurred in building a Factory; that he had, however, procured an order for such a building and would after the rainy season fix on a situation and make preparations for this undertaking.

On the state of the trade in Bengal Sir Edward Littleton made a comparison between the stock and funds of

1. Letters from the Court of Directors to their President and Council at Hugli, Apr. 5, May 9, Sept. 7, Nov. 28, Dec. 19, 1700, Feb. 13, 1701.

2. Bruce, p 415.



the London and English Companies and of their respective equipments,¹ drawing from it an inference of what would be the effects of a Union on the funds of the English Company and the relative ranks of their servants; the stock of the London Company exceeding that of the English in the proportion of five to two, and their ships having arrived early in the market they had possessed a decided advantage; but though they had continued a corporation, if the English Company would send an ample stock he did not despair of obtaining his superiority of trade. The opposition of the London Company still continued for they would not hear his Commission read and hampered him in every possible way.

In the management of the trade, Sir Edward Littleton² explained that the English Company's servants had been much distressed for want of pilots acquainted with the soundings of the Ganges, and their stores endangered from being without a proper guard, the greater part of the soldiers brought out from England having died or deserted, and many of the seamen having left service; "an evil against which some regulation should be provided by taking an obligation from the country vessels to pay 1000 rupees for every English seaman who might be found on board without the Council's license".³

1. Bruce, p 416.

2. Ibid, p 418.

3. Letters (general) from Sir Edward Littleton and Council at Hugli to the Court, June 4, 1700, Jan? 18, Feb. 18, 1701. Letters from the Presidency of Hugli to the Presidency of Surat June 4, 1700, Jan. 18, 1701. Letters from the Presidency of Hugli to Sir Wm. Norris May 27, 1700, Jan. 18, 1701.

With the failure of the Embassy of Sir William Norris¹ to the Great Mughal, 1702, a further embarrassment came to the English Company in Bengal. For Norris had so far succeeded that an order came from the Mughal to seize the property and servants of the London Company. This order was so far carried into effect that the London Company's servants and the Dutch had been seized at Patna. Hugli was also threatened and contrary to the practise at Surat, the English Company's servants as they described it "for fear of the worst" were preparing to assist the London Company. Under these hardships Sir Edward Littleton purchased a renewal of the Princes Nishan for trade till a Firman should be obtained.² He also applied to the recently appointed Diwan for a Parwana for free trade which would enable him to continue his efforts should the Firman not be granted.³

In 1702, further trouble was experienced owing to the Mughal's Embargo on trade which was rigorously enforced by the Diwan. All Europeans were indiscriminately seized in the Out-Factories and the English Company's Agent at Kasimbazar, Rajahal and Patna were thrown into prison and their effects sealed up.

1. Bruce, p 461.

2. Ibid, p 482.

3. Letter (General) from the Presidency of Hugli to the Court of the English Company Dec. 28 1701, Jan. 27, Feb. 3, 1702, Letters from the Presidency of Bengal to the Presidency of Surat April 4, 1701, March 7, 1702.

4. Bruce, p 524.



Having no soldiers for a guard Sir Edward Littleton was obliged to fortify the Factory at Hugli in the best manner practicable and to hire 100 Portuguese and such other Europeans as he could engage. He also recalled the ship "DeGrave" which had already dropped down the river on her voyage to Europe and stationed her abreast of the Factory for its protection. As the oppression continued for a considerable time and was supposed to be the result of the joint Councils of the Prince and the Diwan, it became necessary to keep one of the Company's ships¹ constantly moored near the Factory.

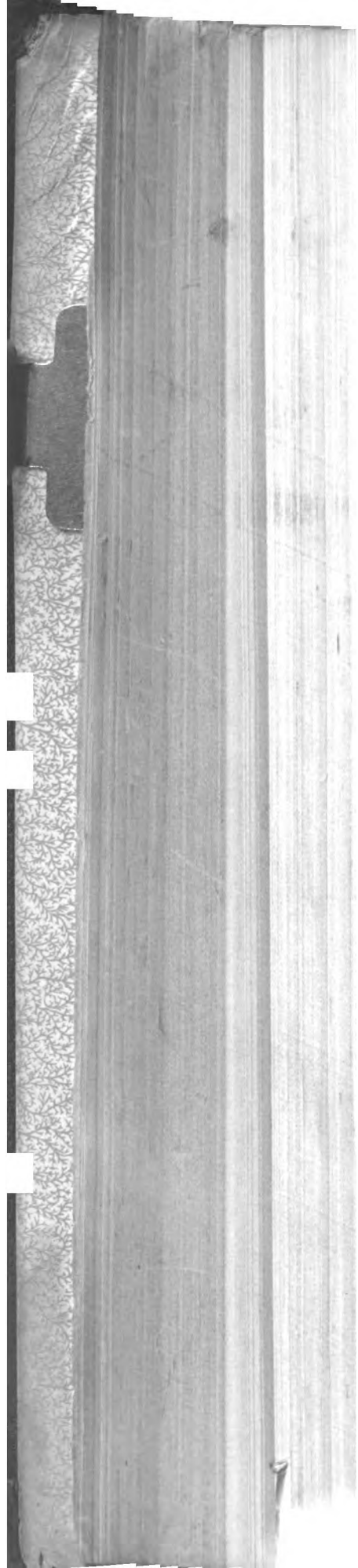
Meanwhile in January, 1702, the Courts of Directors² of both Companies transmitted the news of the Act of Union to their servants in Bengal with the usual orders to unite their efforts to secure the trade for the English nation.³

1. Letters (general) from Sir Edward Littleton and Council at Hugli to the Court of Directors of the English Company March 6, 1702, Letters from the Presidency of

Hugli to the Presidency of Surat Apr. 20, Oct. 6, Nov. 14, 1702

2. Bruce, p 499 and 514.

3. Letters from the Court of Directors of the London Company to the President and Council in Bengal Aug. 4, 1702. Letters from the Court of Directors of the English Company to Sir Edward Littleton and Council at Hugli. Aug. 6, 27, 1702.



CHAPTER VI.

THE ENGLISH COMPANY'S EMBASSY TO THE GREAT MUGHAL.

Soon after its charter was granted the English Company resolved to solicit and obtain permission from the King to send Mr. (after Sir William) Norris, a member of the House of Commons, as Ambassador to the great Mughal Aurangzeb, from the English nation.¹ By thus sending a regular envoy the English Company imitated the precedent set by the London Company which had sent Sir Thomas Roe as Ambassador to Jahanjir in the reign of James I; and hoped to prove its status as the new English authority in India. Since the time of Roe the London Company had sent only commercial agents as envoys to the courts of Indian sovereigns. The object of the mission of Norris was to solicit Firmans or imperial privileges for the English nation and to render the English Company its representative in the East Indies.

Among the presents intended by the English Company for the Mughal they wished to include a small train of brass artillery and requested by petition to the king, William III, that they might be furnished by the Board of Ordinance with them.² The petition was referred to the Board, which reported "that they did not know how far it might be justifiable to furnish foreigners with a train of artillery which at one time or another may be used

1. Bruce, p 281.

2. Ibid, p 281.

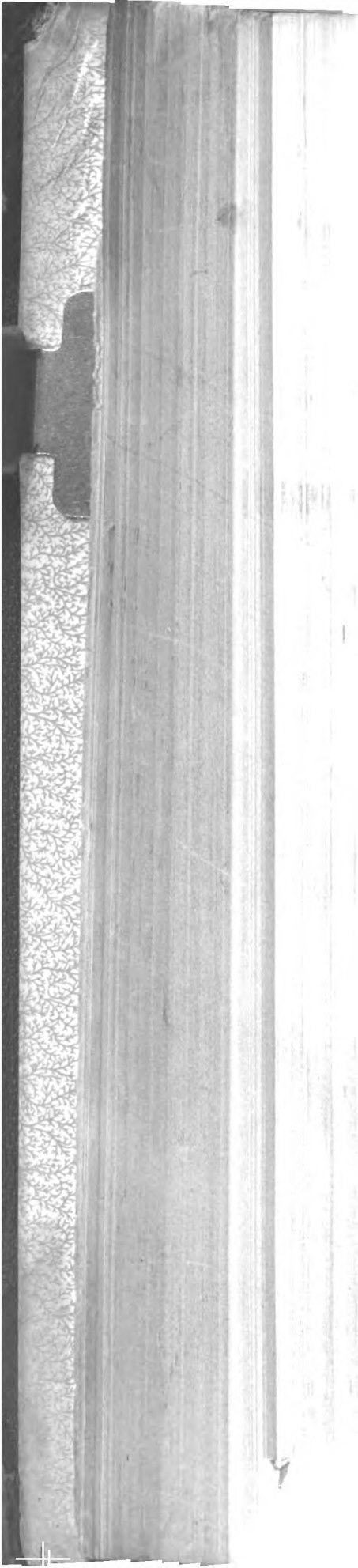


against his Majesty's subjects¹.

The Directors of the English Company laid great weight on the Embassy and all their consuls were especially directed to investigate carefully the nature and extent of the privileges which the London Company had hitherto possessed,² to make translations of all Firmans which they enjoyed and to transmit them to Sir William Norris with any observations which might occur to them in Council, on the subject of such farther privileges as it would be expedient to solicit, and to assist him in every possible way. The English Company appear early to have been apprehensive that the expenses of the Embassy would be considerable,³ for the Directors authorised Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat, to advance £20,000 to the Ambassador, but expressed a hope that the charges would not amount to a greater sum; for with this fund, they trusted he would be able to procure extensive privileges, and that by liberal expenditure at first his negotiations would be speedily terminated.

Accordingly, Sir William Norris sailed for India on the "Harwich" and arrived off Masulipatam on September 23, 1699, apparently under the advice of John Pitt, with the idea of making his way thence to Aurangzeb's

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1. Petition of the English Company to the King for a train of brass ordinance to present to the Mughal and Report of the Board of Ordinance on this petition, Dec. 14, 1698. (East India Papers in State Paper Office, Part 11, No. 26 and 27.)
 2. Bruce, p 263.
 3. Ibid, p 268.



court. The Mughal at the great age of eighty-one years and in declining health, but still taking the field was then encamped in the Maratha country either before Sattara, or preparing for the defence of that place. The following letter was at once dispatched:

Sir William Norris to the Gentlemen of the English Company's Factory at Metchlepatam:

"ffrom on board his Majesties Shipp Harwich rideing att Achor in the Roade before Metchlepatam on the Coast of Cormandell the 23th of September 1699."

"Hon:Gentlemen

"I thought Necessary to take the first Oppertunity to Signify to you my Arrivall on the Coast, which was (with the Squadron under the command of Comadore Warren) on the 20th Instant about six in the Evening. And on Munday next I intend to dissimbarque.

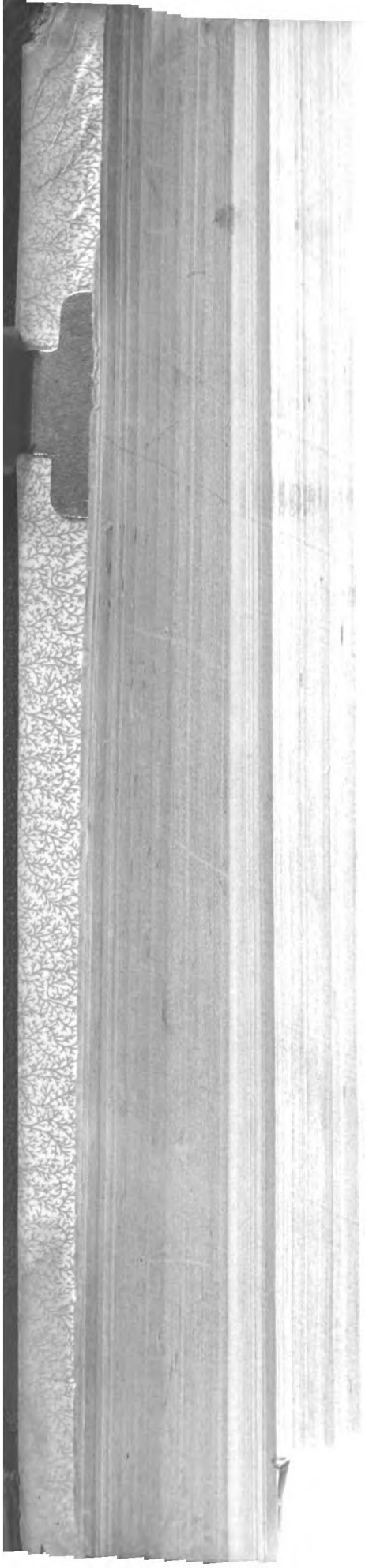
"This comes by a Shipp in the Service of the Old Company, wherefor I think itt not expedient to say any thing further then that I am

"Hon:Gentlemen

"Your humble Servant

"Wm. Norris:

"All possible Provision is makeing (by the Governor in Cheife of this Province vnder the Great Mogull) for my Reception, with great Grandure and all Imaginable demonstrations of ffriendship. A Supply of Wine and strong



Beer will bee Necessary by the first Oppertunity."

To this Consull Pitt replied:¹

" My Lord

....."Shall get all things ready for Your Lordships reception on Munday and will advise You tomorrow what hour of the day will be best to Land.

"If your Excellency pleases in my opinion 'twill be best to have only a Cold treat and the Severall tables ready Spread Cover'd, upon Your Arrivall, for 'twill be impossible to hitt the time so exactly to have it hott and in Order besides 'twill be expected, it shou'd be done with a great deal of more Ceremogy than what circumstances will admitt, for Your Excellency cannot but be Sensible Wee must be in a little hurry, not being Yet well Settled, and every body with me Inacquainted with India.

"Wee had the misfortune to loose One of Our Seamen last night upon the barr.

"I am "My Lord

"Your Excell: most humble servant

"J.Pitt".

"Metchlepatam:23:7br:99."

On this occasion Consull Pitt addressed a letter to Mr. Lovell, the London Company's agent at Masulipatam² notifying the arrival of the Ambassador and requiring that he and the London Company's other servants should attend the ceremony of his landing. To this demand Mr. Lovell com-

1. Hedges, Vol. lll, p lll.

2. Bruce, p, 344.



plied - a marked contrast to the action of most of the London Company's servants and one which caused him to be accused by his superiors of favoring the English Company, later. Immediately upon his arrival Sir William Norris sent Mr. Harlewyn to notify his character to the native governor,¹ and to desire information respecting the residence of the Mughal to whose court he was about to proceed, and received for answer that the Mughal was at Visapur .

These transactions were reported to Governor Pitt at Fort St. George who at once issued a protest under the London Company's seal,² against Sir William Norris' interference in any applications which the London Company might make to the native governments, that might effect the rights they had purchased and enjoyed; because they were not subject to the control of any public minister during the continuance of their term of trade. At the same time he addressed the Governor of Masulipatam and the new Nawab Madia Kahn Beg soliciting their protection to the London Company, explaining that the reason why their Factors had not waited on them was due to the measures of the English Company which had prevented their discharging this duty.

The accounts Sir William Norris gave of his own progress to the Court of Directors of the English Company

1. Bruce, p 344.
2. Bruce, p 322.



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revealed the true state of affairs. He reported that after touching at Porto Novo , being in want of water, he put into Madras Roads, where he was respectfully saluted by the Fort but was afraid to land lest the captains of the fleet which conducted him might be influenced against the English Company's interests by the President and Council at Fort St. George; that he was in great want of proper interpreters and that the native officers made considerable difficulties in acknowledging his rank as Ambassador; that from not being furnished with proper equipage it would be the middle of April before he could attempt to proceed on his journey; that in this interval he had solicited the Nawab for a Parwana granting freedom of trade till a Firman from the Mughal could be obtained , giving as a reason for his application for both that the London Company would soon be dissolved; that though the Nawab had apparently agreed to grant the Parwana, his Diwan had demanded 50,000 rupees as the amount of duties on customs owing by the English Company, since their Factories had been established; that a further demand had been made, founded on a complaint made by the Lascars in the fleet that the wages due them had been withheld, and that his interpreter had been detained till this demand had been complied with.

Meanwhile Mr. Edward Norris the Secretary of the Ambassador had sent intelligence to Sir Nicholas Wrote at

1. Bruce, p 345 .
 2. Letters from Sir Wm. Norris the Ambassador to the Court of the English Company. Jan.1.March 12. 1700.



Surat respecting the Ambassador's landing at Masulipatam
 1
 September 25, 1699, and his request that persons instructed in the Moorish and Persian languages might be sent to assist him in his negotiations, and that Sir Nicholas might transmit to him copies of all Firmans which had been granted to the English, with such observations as he had been able to make on the subject; pressing dispatch as he had been empowered at the expense of £20,000 to solicit and procure from the Mughal an exemption from all duties within his dominions. The Ambassador also desired to know what further charges he might incur in procuring this great object of his mission and requested that Sir Nicholas Waite would forward to the Mughal's Camp the train of artillery which had been sent as a present by the English Company. Sir Nicholas Waite was also ordered to intimate to the President and Council of the London Company at Surat, the arrival of the Ambassador and that he was to proceed to the Mughal's court to fulfill
 2
 the object of his mission.

The instructions of the Court of Directors to Sir William Norris were that he was to endeavor to procure privileges in general terms and the admission of the Company's consuls to the rank of King's ministers as otherwise their authority would not be recognised by the English subjects in India; that the temporary grant of the "Chop" allowing trade, had very properly been placed upon the old grant from

1. Bruce, p 344.

2. Letter from Mr. Norris, Sec'y of the Embassy to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat, Oct. 21, 1699.

the King of Golconda in 1675, which in general was to the English nation; a basis on which the Court trusted the Firman would be obtained by the Ambassador; that in particular it would be important to get the privilege of a mint at Madapollam, the principle seat of their trade and permission to examine all English ships which might be carrying on illicit trade in Mughal ports and to condemn¹ them.

Sir William Norris soon after his arrival in Masulipatam sent for the information respecting the privileges² he was to solicit, which Sir Nicholas Waite had been instructed to collect at Surat. In answer Sir Nicholas reported that his meeting the Ambassador previously to his setting out for the Mughal's camp was indispensable and that it would have been preferable, if, instead of landing at Masulipatam, he had come directly to Surat, and he now insisted that the Ambassador should come to Surat and proceed from that place to the court and offered that six young gentlemen Writers should attend the Embassy. Having taken these measures Sir Nicholas Waite informed the Ambassador that the London Company had sent Kwaja Ayennes, an Armenian Vakil to Aurangved to counteract the Ambassador's negotiation; that he had forwarded the presents of guns, etc. with ten soldiers, six Writers and two surgeons under the charge of the Reverend Mr. Hackett, the Chaplain to Berhampur to await his arrival; that he must be careful not to inter-

1. Bruce, p 390.

2. Ibid, p 396.

pose his good offices on behalf of the London Company, who were endeavoring to get free of the Security Bond which they had granted to make good the damages done to the pilgrims' ships by pirates, lest such interposition might involve the English Company in their engagements and debts. This was accompanied by a request that the Ambassador would draw on Masulipatam for what money he might want to defray his charges as the £100,000 stock sent by the Court had been expended in purchasing an investment.¹

Meanwhile after remaining in Masulipatam till the beginning of May 1700 the Ambassador found that the equipage for his journey to Golconda and thence to the Mughal's Camp had not been provided by Consul Pitt.² The blame he imputed to the Consuls' chief Dubash Vinkatadur whom he suspected of having been bribed by the London Company's servants in connection with the Mughal's officers. He therefore decided to proceed to Surat in one of the Company's regular ships expressing to Sir Nicholas Waite his fear that the service might experience prejudice from delays such as had occurred in Bengal where Sir Edward Littleton had only been able to procure a conditional license to trade for six months, the time in which it was supposed a Firman could be obtained.

Sir William Norris' resolution to proceed to Surat by sea was retarded by Consul Pitt who asserted³ that it would

1. Bruce, p 398.
 2. Ibid, p 399.
 3. Ibid, p 399.



be derogatory to the Ambassador's character and dignity, after having touched at one port in the Mughal's dominions, not to go directly to his camp but to take shipping to another port. This opinion he strengthened by a minute of

Council that the Ambassador should remain at Masulipatam during the rainy season and then commence his journey.

Irritated at this opinion, Sir William Norris ascribed it to the insidious conduct of the Consul's chief broker - who was still protected and retained in his service, notwithstanding frequent remonstrances to dismiss him - and also to a jealousy of Consul Pitt at his superior rank. The Consul finding the Ambassador determined to proceed to Surat by sea, gave him a memorial of the privileges he ought to solicit for the English Company on the Coromandel Coast, in substance that the Firman should be founded on that granted to the English nation by the King of Golconda in 1675 at the request of Mr. Manwaring with the following additions: ¹ a grant of the towns of Deverampank and Madapollam with the adjoining villages, which they then rented at 500 pagodas per annum; a mint for coining rupees and pagodas at Madapollam; all the Company's servants and washers of cloths (dyers) to be exempted from taxes and all disputes among them decided by the Consul and his council; the London Company to deliver up their stamps and dyes for coining; the Consul to be acknowledged by the native governors and officers as the King of England's minister; the Firman to

1. Bruce, p 400.



be in the name of the English Company established by the King in Parliament and no other English subject to rent any town or lands from the native governors.

The manner rather than the substance of this memorial confirmed the suspicions of Sir William Norris¹ that the broker of Consul Pitt as well as the native chiefs on the Coromandel Coast were leagued against the progress of his Embassy. But these suspicions were now shifted from the broker to Consul Pitt himself, whom he represented to the Court in a formal complaint as having thwarted him in the object of his Embassy, and either to have been corrupted by the servants of the London Company or to have acted in the manner contrary to his duty, with a view to conceal the private traffic which he carried on for his own benefit in opposition to the interests of the Company. These suspicions were strengthened by the reiterated applications of Sir Nicholas Waite who by daily hirkaras acquainted the Ambassador with the fact that he was making every preparation for his reception and for his journey, which he trusted would defeat the combination against him by Consul Pitt and the native officials. This intelligence was accompanied with complaints of Consul Pitt for his intemperate language in his correspondence on the commercial concerns of the Company between the Coast and Surat.

Under these impressions and from the assurances of Sir Nicholas Waite that every preparation was being made at

1. Bruce, p 400 -1.

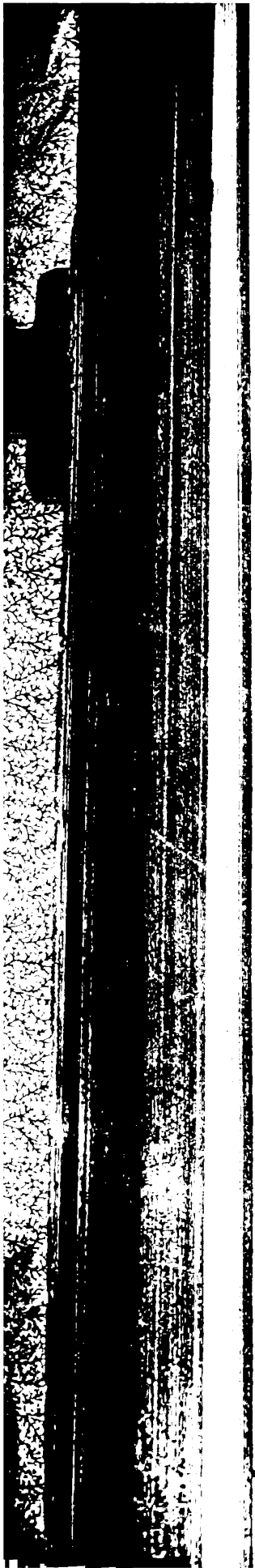


Surat to forward the Embassy, Sir William Norris obliged the Consul to change the destination of the ship "Sommers" that it might proceed with him to Surat whither he sailed from Masulipatam on August 23, 1700 after a delay of eleven months.¹ On leaving that port he accused Consul Pitt of breach of duty and wrote to this effect not only to the Court of Directors but also to the Secretary of State.² Consul Pitt in his turn wrote to the Court of Directors vindicating his conduct against these accusations.³ He stated that instead of having obstructed the journey of the Ambassador every effort on his part had been made to facilitate the mission. The best evidence of this was the fact that the expenses of the Ambassador during his residence on the Coromandel Coast were 113,000 rupees; that after the fullest preparations had been made for his journey, under the pretext that two Foujdars had refused to furnish oxen (which they afterwards gave) he had diverted the line of trade, for which the ship "Sommers" was intended to be altered, and employed that vessel to carry the Ambassador and his suite to Surat notwithstanding a notice from the Mughal that it was expected he would proceed by land. Consul Pitt and his council therefore protested against the Ambassador's conduct and informed the Court that his voyage to Surat had been undertaken by the advice of Sir Nicholas Waite whose letter to the Mughal had done great

1. Bruce, p 401.

2. The text of this document is found in Hedges Vol. 111, LV11, LV111, LV1V.

3. Bruce, p 412.



prejudice to the Company's affairs and the charges of the Embassy and the present to Assad Kahn the Wazir had greatly embarrassed the funds.

After a long and tedious voyage convoyed by four ships of the Royal Navy Sir William Norris arrived at Swally, the port of Surat on December 10, 1700 and notified his character and made known the reception he expected to the Governor of Surat.¹ The Governor in reply answered that unless the King of England's letter appointing Sir William Norris to the rank of Ambassador should be laid before him, he could not admit him as such till he had received the Mughal's orders; for if he did it would be at the risk of losing his head particularly as Sir John Gayer the Governor of Bombay and General of the London Company had refused to recognise the Ambassador's authority.

Immediately on his arrival Sir William Nooris, since his dignity as an Ambassador was superior to that of Sir John Gayer ordered the captain of the old Company's ship "Tavistock"² to strike her Union Jack in token of respect. This was done, but Sir John Gayer fearing that the old Factory would sink in the estimation of the natives ordered it to be rehoisted. The arrival of the Act of Parliament which continued the London Company as a corporation, at this juncture, was immediately notified to Sir Nicholas Waite and again put the claims of the two companies more on a state of equality. Norris then applied for permission to make a

1. Bruce, p 401-2.

2. Ibid, p 374-5. Anderson, p 148.

public entry into Surat. But for conceding this privilege the Governor charged 1600 gold mohurs . Then the Embassy made its solemn entry, Under these circumstances Sir Nicholas¹ Waite informed the Court that he had been obliged to make a large present to counteract Sir John Gayer's projects of inducing the Governor to refuse his acknowledgements of the Ambassador and to receive him with suitable solemnity; But that his resources were by no means such as could meet the charges of the Embassy which he had with so much pains endeavored to bring to Surat, for he had been obliged to furnish the Ambassador with 10,000 rupees and credit for a lakh and a half which he had borrowed. Moreover, the presents which had been sent by the Court, had been improperly selected; for instead of rarities the articles were common and of little esteem in the country. Sir William Norris, on this occasion found himself extremely embarrassed and not choosing to proceed without the authority of the presidency to which he had been referred, required from Sir Nicholas Waite and his council a written order for the sums which he was to offer the Mughal and his principle ministers.

The ambassador next notified Sir John Gayer that his diplomatic commission would be publicly read on December 26² and that it would be the duty of all Englishmen to attend. Gayer in reply plainly disavowed his authority. Nor was he

1. Bruce, p 402.

2. Ibid, p 378.

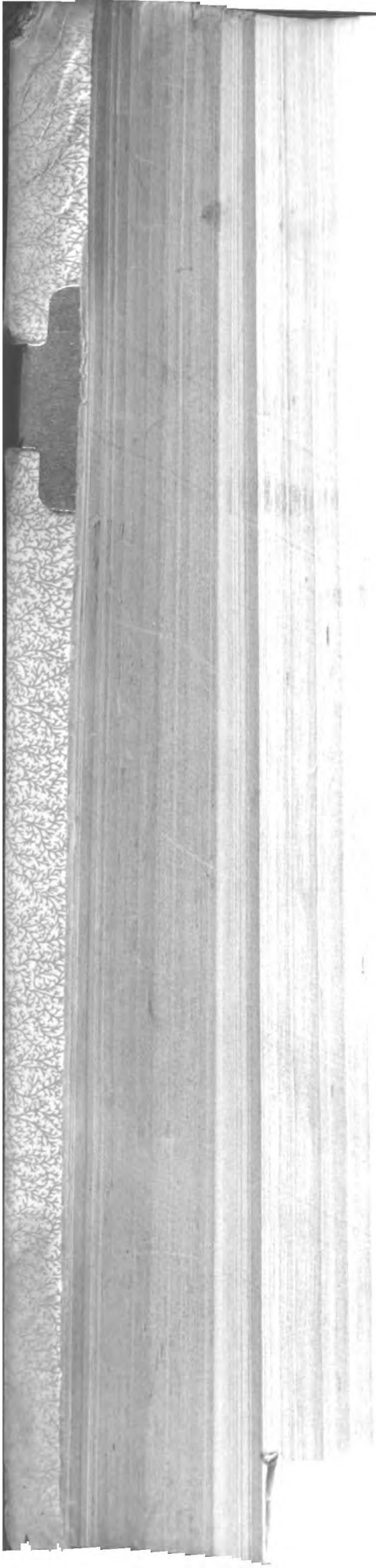
Anderson, p 146.



content with words, for he dispatched an Armenian Vakil to Court as his envoy with orders to frustrate all the Ambassador's efforts. Enraged at this opposition Sir Nicholas Waite brought a complaint before the Governor on January 22, 1701 against the Factors of the old Company for the insult which they had offered the Ambassador and seized Mr. Wyche and Mr. Garnet and Mr. Richardson and delivered them to the Governor who detained them until they could find security for their appearance when called upon.

Sir Nicholas Waite now for the first time began to discover the effects of his zeal in diverting the Embassy from Masulipatam to Surat¹ and lowered the terms specified in his own project of a Firman for the English nation, by advising Sir William Norris not to press his solicitations for any new privileges for the English Company, beyond those which were enjoyed by the London Company, till such time as he could receive information of the privileges required by the Company's presidents on the Coast and in Bengal, and to request when this should arrive that beside the Firmans six lakhs of rupees should be annually paid to the English Company for the expense of the convoys of the Jaddah and mocha fleets, and above all, that the Firmans ought to be expressed in such terms as would give to the Consul at Surat authority to enforce the observation of them. If these conditions could be obtained his opinion was that the Ambassador might give to the Mughal and his principal

1. Bruce, p 493.



officers , besides the presents, a sum not exceeding two lakhs of rupees. He then enumerated the principal ministers of the Mughal to whom portions of this sum were to be offered; seven of whom must be bribed high to conciliate them to the interests of the English Company. In conducting the negotiation he cautioned the Ambassador, if he expected to succeed not to dispute with the officers of the Mughal, on ceremonies or precedents to which Ambassadors in Europe were accustomed, because in the Mughal Empire such forms could not be admitted.

Under these circumstances Sir William Norris set out from Surat on January 27, 1701, on his journey towards the Mughal's camp with the retinue of sixty Europeans and three hundred natives. On the eighth of February he arrived at "Kokely" sixty-six ¹cos from Surat. At this place he was informed by Sir Nicholas Waite, that Sir John Gayer and the London Company's servants had been siezed and imprisoned by the Governor of Surat, but at the same time that their Vakil had gone to court to negotiate for them with a credit of two lakhs of rupees. ² On February 14, the Ambassador reached "Bancolee" and dispatched a messenger to Sir Nicholas Waite , desiring to know by whose authority Sir John Gayer had been siezed, as necessary information to him in directing his applications to the Mughal. On his journey a mutiny took place among the peons attending him, at a

1. Bruce, p 404.
Anderson, p 450.
2. Bruce, p 404.

time and in situations when the appearance of armies of the Hindu chiefs in the vicinity of his small camp and the Mughal troops keeping them in check endangered his progress.¹ It is remarkable that even in this early period the discipline of the small body which formed the Ambassador's guard, kept both in awe; nor were these dangers lessened by the reports of Sir Nicholas Waite from Surat that a demand had been made upon him by the Governor for security against the pirates in the South Indian Seas. This he could evade only by offering his security for any vessel which might be taken by the London Company's ships as the Ambassador was on his way to court to arrange all those points with the Emperor.

Sir William Norris on February 19 proceeded on his journey as far as "Gelgawn" near Aurangabad from which he expressed his fears to Sir Nicholas Waite² that should Sir John Gayer and the London Company's servants be released from confinement they would in revenge for the injuries they had sustained probably blockadethe port of Surat, an event which would arouse the Mughal's anger and frustrate the object of the Embassy. He, therefore, recommended that a ship should be constantly stationed off the port to prevent this measure being resorted to be the London Company. On February 21, the Ambassador reached "Damondavee" where he recieved authority from Sir Nicholas Waite to pay such sums

1. Bruce, p 404-5.
Anderson, p 450.
2. Bruce, p 405.



as might be necessary to obtain the privileges ; it being advisable to give any amount for them before the arrival of Dr. Davenant, who might counteract the whole of the negotiation and to induce the Mughal to accede to his requests he was empowered to offer 6000 maunds of lead per annum at six rupees per maund.

On March 3, 1701 the Ambassador reached "Berhampur"¹ at which it became expedient to pay a visit in form to the Wazir Gaza-adi Khan . A short time was spent in adjusting the ceremonials, the Ambassador requiring to be admitted to a conference preceded by drums, trumpets, etc., which the Wazir refused as being inconsistent with Eastern usages on such occasions. This refusal the Ambassador considered derogatory to his dignity and he left Berhampur without having a conference with the Wazir and reached "Panwel" on April 7, 1701 near which the Mughal's camp was located. As soon as the Ambassador's arrival was notified, an order was issued granting him permission to encamp, and an audience² with the Emperor was obtained.

In this early stage of the business, Norris received

1. Bruce, p 406.

Anderson, p 150.

2. The primary authorities for the above facts are: - Correspondence between Sir Wm. Norris and Sir Nicholas Wauite while at Masulipatam and during his journey to the Mughal's camp April 12, 16, 23, 30, May 31, June 12, 22, July 1, Aug. 5, 7, Sept. 19, Nov. 4, 30, Dec. 5, 10, 13, 17, 21, 1700, Jan. 14, 20, 23, Feb. 1, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 27, March 3, 8, 18, 1701. Letter from Sir Wm. Norris to the Court Aug. 19, 1700. Letter from Sir Wm. Norris to the Governor of Surat, Dec. 26, 1700. Correspondence between Sir Wm. Norris and Consul Pitt June 6, Aug. 3, 22, 1700. Copies of Firmans to be requested for Surat and the Coromandel, May 14, Aug: 14, 1700.



information of the Act of Parliament continuing the London Company as a corporation.¹ This caused hesitation respecting the basis upon which it had been agreed he was to open his negotiation. On consultation with the principal persons attending the Embassy, it was agreed that it would not be lawful for the Ambassador to represent to the Mughal that the London Company was to cease in September, 1701, notwithstanding his previous assertion of the circumstance to the Governor of the provinces and to the Mughal's ministers. But this produced difficulties as to the manner in which he was to open the business with the Emperor. It was, however, impossible to retract for already the time had been fixed for his audience and the ceremonial of his Procession, which was to be as impressive as possible had been settled.

The order of the Procession on April 28, 1701, was as follows:-² Mr. Cristor, Commander of his Excellency's Artillery on horseback.

Twelve carts wherein were carried the twelve brass guns for presents.

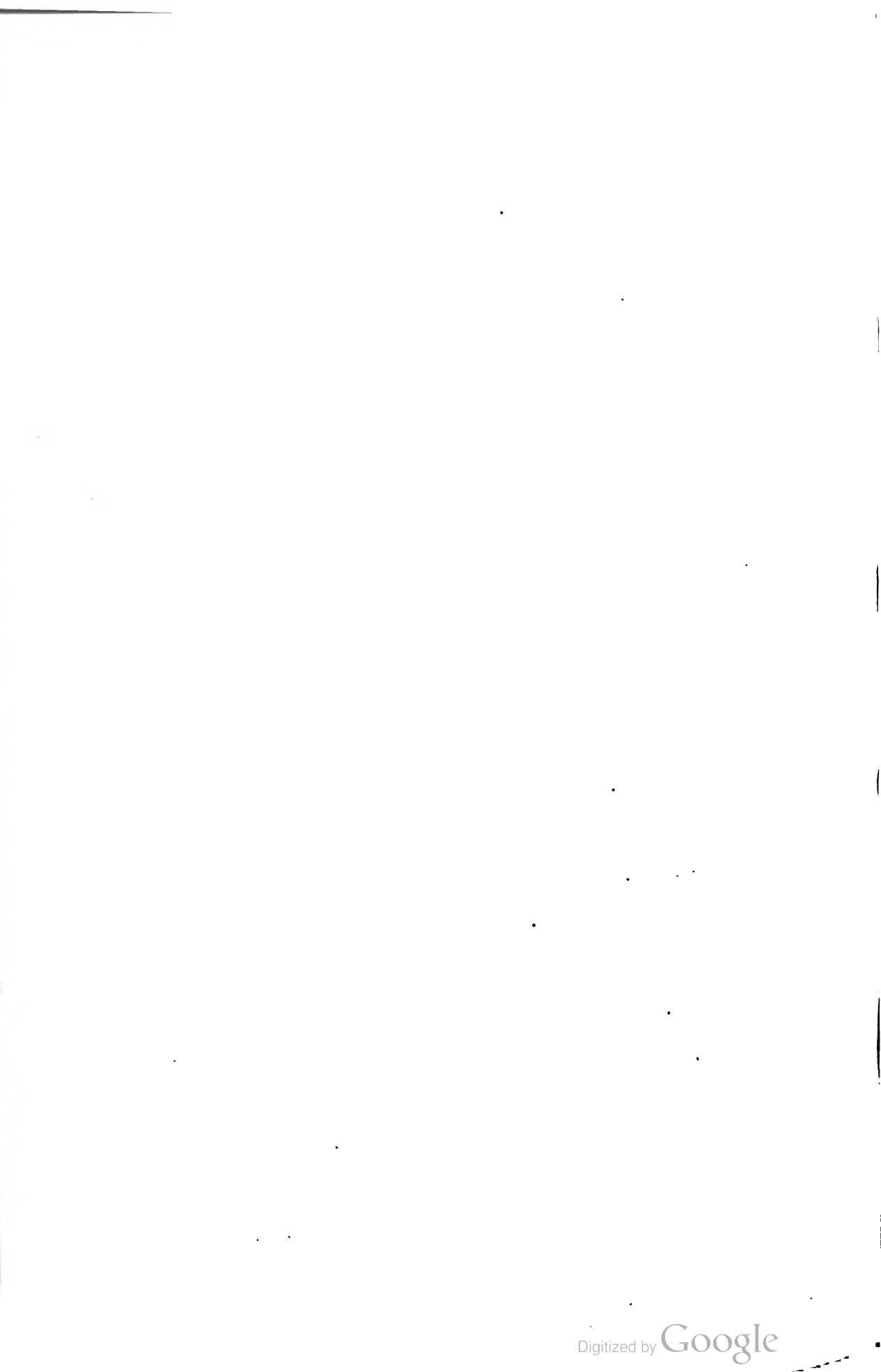
Five hackeries, with cloth etc. for presents.

One hundred Cohurs and messures carrying the glass-ware and looking glasses for presents.

Two fine Arabian horses, richly caparisoned for presents.

Two ditto with caparisons for presents.

1. Bruce, p 461.
 2. Ibid, p 462-475.
 Andersen, p 150-3.



Four English soldiers on horseback, guarding the presents.

The Union Flag .

The Red, White and Blue Flags.

Seven state horses, richly caparisoned , two with English harness and five with Indian.

One state palanquin with English furniture of silver tissue brocaded.

Two other crests.

The band with rich liveries on horseback.

Mr. Basset , Lieutenant of his Excellency's foot-guards on horseback.

Ten servants in rich liveries on horseback.

The King's and My Lords' Arms.

One kettle-drummer in livery on horseback.

Three trumpeters in liveries on horseback.

Captain Symons, Commander of his Excellency's guards.

Twelve troopers every way armed and accoutered after the English mode.

Mr. Beverly , Lieutenant of his Excellency's horse guards

The King's and My Lords' Arms richly gilt and very large, the first being borne by sixteen men .

Mr. John Mill and Mr. Whitaker on horseback in rich laced coats.

Mr. Hale, Master of the Horse, richly dressed, carrying the Sword of State pointed up.

His Excellency in a rich palanquin, Indian embroidered



furniture.

Four pages , two on each side of his Excellency's palanquin richly dressed.

Edward Norris, Esq., Secretary of the Embassy in a rich palanquin carrying his Majesty's letter to the Emperor; on each side Mr. Wingate and Mr. Shettleworth in rich lace coats on horseback.

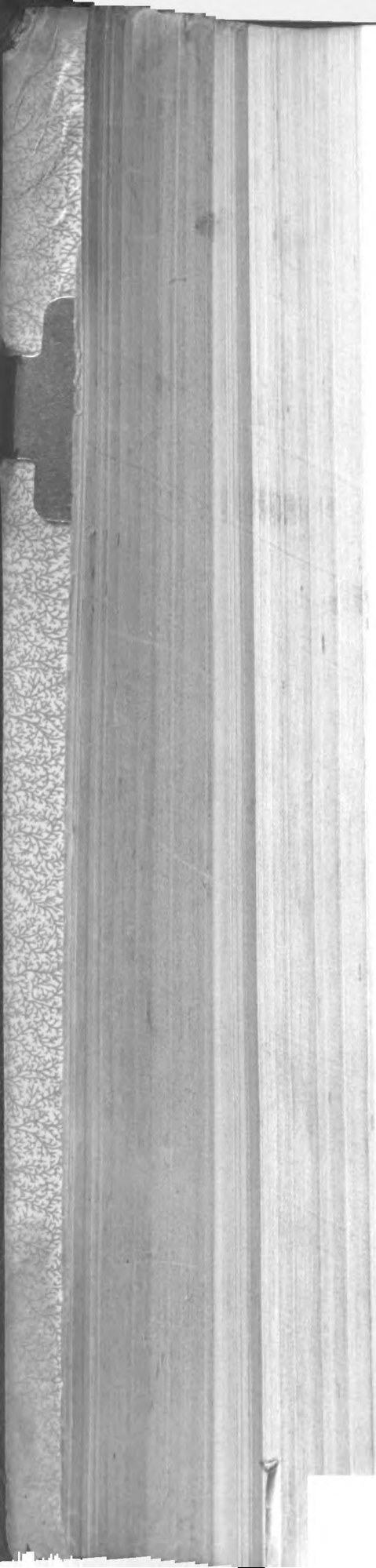
Mr. Harlewyn, Treasurer, wearing a gold key and Mr. Adiel Mill, Secretary to his Excellency in a coach.

This long procession was carefully arranged and the whole was certainly calculated to strike with wonder a people like those of India. The Ambassador, on being received by the Emperor, requested that the Firmans might be granted to each of the presidencies of Surat, Masulipatam, and Hugli, with an exemption from the bonds given by the London Company for the security of the seas. The Emperor's orders were issued and in return for these favors the Ambassador paid another visit of state to the Mughal and presented him with 200 gold mohurs. The Firman for Bengal was more extensive than those for Surat or those for Masulipatam because it granted a total exemption from payment of duties and permission to have a mint; but the authority with which the Consuls were vested was the same for each presidency.

The result of the negotiation thus appeared to be favorable when circumstances occurred which alarmed the Ambassador for the final success of the business. Sir Nicholas Waite had previously to the arrival of the Ambassador, addressed

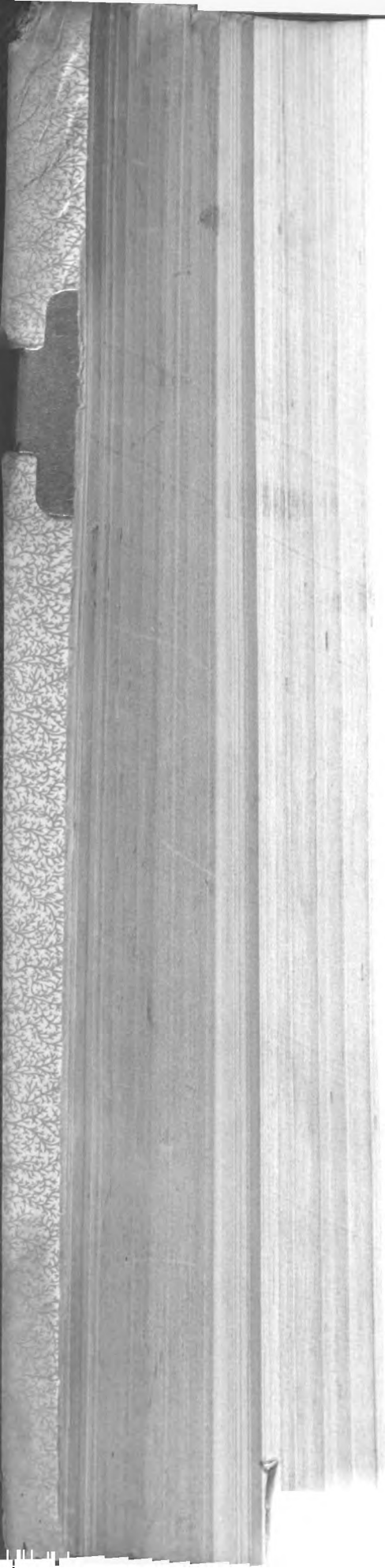


a letter to the Mughal soliciting a separate Firman. In the Persian letter Waite had promised to give security for the safe navigation of the southern seas; but in the English translation, sent to the Ambassador and to the court, this circumstance had been omitted. Thus, though the Ambassador had obtained an exemption from the Security-Bond extorted from the London Company the Mughal's ministers considered the security offered in Sir Nicholas Waite's letter as the ground on which the Firman had been given. A delay of course took place till this objection could be explained or removed. This circumstance again brought complaint from Sir William Norris against Sir Nicholas Waite, not only for having by this letter impeded his progress but for the scanty supplies of money sent from Surat to defray the charges which had nearly ruined the Embassy. Another unfortunate circumstance occurred at this crisis, namely the information of a dervish to the Mughal that the London Company had not paid their debts. This created a second delay and produced a positive order to seize the property of the London Company and the persons of their servants and to prohibit their trade in every part of his dominions. But this produced an effect on the Embassy which had not been anticipated for it was further ordered that should the property of the London Company not be sufficient to cover those debts the English Company would be liable for them. Moreover, the applications of the Ambassador and of the Armenian Vakils for another, each offering



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bribes and lavishing money for the same object, excited doubts in the mind of the Mughal and of his ministers as to which of the two companies was in fact the "real English Company" and induced the Mughal to order a letter to be written to Sayyid Sadulla, an holy priest at Surat. This again became a source of delay; for in the whole of these transactions bribery was the only means which could be employed. Sir Nicholas Waite was given to understand that 10,000 rupees would be the price of the Sayyid's report in favor of the English Company: but if such a report had really been made, its effects would have been immediately frustrated by the arrival of eight Mocha ships, the commanders of which reported that three of their fleet had been taken by an English pirate. What at first was delay only, now turned to hesitation about granting the Firman, though the reason given was that they could not be issued till the report was made from Surat of the execution of the Mughal's orders, and an account of the London Company's property received to ascertain whether they had funds sufficient to liquidate the damages done by pirates. The bribe required by the Sayyid was to be followed by one to the Governor who intimated that he had received an order from the Mughal to report the power of the respective companies - i.e., the sum which each could pay. The Governor made an offer himself to obtain the Firmans for the English Company if the Consul would pay 125, 000 rupees for the first , 62, 500 for the second and 100,000 for the third and that



these sums should be paid at Surat: but before any of the Firmans could be issued the seas must be cleared of pirates.

These delays and disappointments produced mutual accusations between the Ambassador and Consul. The Consul and Council accused the Ambassador to the Court of Directors of having, for European ceremony^a disobliged the Grand Wazir at Berhampur, and Mr. Mill the private secretary and interpreter of having from his ignorance of the Persian

language and usages of Eastern courts increased the disgust which the Ambassador's ill-judged sense of dignity had created; and also of having neglected to investigate sufficiently the proceedings and conduct of the London Company's Vakils, who from better knowledge of the manners and customs of the country had completely overreached him. Sir William Norris on the other hand not only accused Sir Nicholas Waite of having impeded his progress by the imprudent letter which has been referred to, but also of having withheld the money required as bribes to insure success.

It may easily be supposed that under these circumstances, the negotiations would break off. The cause of this Sir William Norris in his despatch to the Consul at Surat on October 28, 1701, stated to have been a demand by the Emperor for the security of the seas against pirates. This was evaded by the Ambassador pleading the security given by the three European nations, the French, the Dutch and the English, and that it was unreasonable to demand security against the Malabar pirates who were the Mughal's own subjects and whose



actions he alone could control; but that he was ready to give a lakh of rupees to be given exempted from the obligation. In this instance, money had no charm and the answer not being satisfactory the Mughal intimated to the Ambassador that "the English best knew if it was their interest to trade, and if the Ambassador refused to give an obligation, he knew the same way back to England that he came." Considering this a dismissal from the court, Sir William Norris desired "dustucks" or passports for Surat and published a notice in Persian, Hindu and English that all persons having any claims on the English Embassy should give them in five days, as at that time he proposed to commence his journey; and requested through the Wazir an audience of leave of the Emperor. The passports for the Ambassador's return were accordingly granted though the audience was refused, and having struck his tents Norris set out on the morning of November 5, 1701, from the Mughal's camp at "Murdawughen" on his march to Surat.

The opinion of the different presidencies on the rupture of negotiations were :- at Surat, that Norris was not entitled to break off the Embassy by the 12th Article of his instructions without the consent of Sir Nicholas Waite and his council; at Masulipatam, that his conduct had been rash and imprudent though they still hoped the Firman might be procured through the influence of the Wazir, and that it was absurd to insist on European forms not understood in an Eastern court and not less so to have neglected from a mere punctilio to pay his respects to



Assad Kahn the Wazir at Berhampur and to conciliate his favor; at Hugli, that the delays in obtaining the Firmans had exposed the trade in Bengal to exorbitant demands from the Mughal officers and obliged them to apply to the new Diwan for permission to continue trade which from the rash and imprudent conduct of the Ambassador might ultimately be endangered.

Meanwhile, Sir William Norris had left the Mughal's camp and proceeded on his journey for three days when Mahmud Khan Diwan of the Deccan overtook him and, by the Emperor's orders, desired his return to court, asserting that he had set out without the Emperor's "dustucks" and on Sir William Norris' producing them, affirmed that they had proceeded from an inferior officer without orders and desired that he would halt for two days till the Mughal's pleasure should be known. Having halted for the time required and no counter orders having reached him, Sir William Norris continued his march, and reached Berhampur on November 14, where he found the Nawab Gaze-adi Khan the Mughal's chief general in camp. Conferences and visits of ceremony took place between the ambassador and the officers of this general who desired that he would halt for a week to give time to write to court in favor of the embassy.

In this interval every effort was made to induce Sir William Norris to visit the Nawab, which he declined under apology that not having taken a personal leave of the Emperor he could not with propriety pay his respects to any



of his officers. No notice having been sent him direct from the Mughal he recommenced his journey on November 22. He had not advanced above two coss from Berhampur when he was surrounded by a large body of Gaza-adi Khan's troops, but the determined appearance of resistance by Sir William Norris' guard, prevented any violence, and the request was again made that he would return to Berhampur for a few days, with which he was under the necessity of complying as his tents and baggage had been seized. Sir William Norris protested against this outrage as an insult offered to a representative of a great king; but the protest was answered by Gaza-adi Khan's informing him that he could not allow him to proceed till the Emperor's pleasure should be known. It was in this situation that he learned on November 28 that orders had been sent to Surat to seize the property and servants of the London Company till such time as the obligation for the security of the seas, given some years past, should be complied with. On December 2, he was informed that, at the recommendation of Gaza-adi Khan, the Firmans would be granted and a demand was made for a sum of money for the intercession of this officer. Affairs continued in this situation till February 4, when the ambassador was informed by Gaza-adi Khan that he had received a letter and a sword from the Emperor for the King of England with the promise that the Firmans would be sent in a short time. The Ambassador received the presents and at the same time pass-ports for Surat

set out on February 5. Rustum the broker, was detained by the Emperor's orders but was directed by the Ambassador, not to sign any obligation or give any further sums of money, on account of the embassy. Sir William Norris at this time promised Gaza-adi Khan that should the Firmans be granted (beside the 2,500 gold mohurs which he had actually paid to him) he should be further remunerated with a lakh and a half and his brother with 20,000 rupees.

It was not, however, till April 12, 1702, that Sir William Norris reached Surat and on the 18th waited on the new governor who had formerly been treasurer and obtained permission for Sir Nicholas Waite to go out of the city in which he had been confined since the Ambassador left the court. On April 29, Sir William Norris embarked with thirteen of his retinue on board the "Scipio" a Permission ship on the Separate Stock and paid 10,000 rupees for his passage. Mr. Norris, his brother and secretary of the Embassy went on board the "China Merchant" one of the Company's ships with fourteen of the Ambassador's suite. This embarkation was effected by giving a bribe of 3,000 rupees to the Governor and 2,000 to his principal officers. The terms on which the ambassador and consul separated at the embarkation, may be seen from the fact that Sir William Norris declined to deliver to Sir Nicholas Waite a copy of his diary or papers, though he gave up his horses, camels, oxen, and elephants to be sold on the Company's account.

On May 5, 1702, the "Scipio" and "China Merchant" sailed for England. In this manner terminated the second embassy from an English king to the Mughal Emperor.¹

1. The primary authorities for the above facts are: Letters from Sir William Norris to the Presidency at Surat, April 7, 24, 25, May 15, Oct. 28, Nov. 4, 11, 14, 25, 28, December 2, 30, 1701, Jan^y 7, Feb. 8, 16, 1702. Order of the Procession at the ambassador's audience of the Emperor April 28, 1701. No. 5868. Letters from Sir Nicholas Waite and Council at Surat to Sir William Norris April 5, 9, May 5, 9, 16, 22, 23, 27, June 1, Aug. 18, 19, 21, 31, Sept. 2, 6, 16, Nov. 19, 27, Dec. 1, 13, 27, 1701. Jan. 7, Feb. 4, 1702. Letters from Sir William Norris to the Presidency of Masulipatam June 12, 1701. Letters from the Presidency of Masulipatam to Sir William Norris April 25, May 12, July 14, Aug. 15, 25, Dec. 5, 1701, Jan. 18, March 4, 25, 1702. Letters from Sir William Norris to the Presidency of Hugli Aug. 14, ~~1701~~ Sept. 3, 1701. Letters from the Presidency of Hugli to the court April 22, May 7, 19, 1701. Letter from Mr. Mill Secretary to Sir Wm. Norris to the court, Jan. 15, 1702. Letter from Mr. Harlewyn treasurer of the embassy, to the court, dated at St. Helena, Oct. 31, 1702.

CHAPTER VII.

PEACE BETWEEN THE COMPANIES.

Within a few weeks after the establishment of the English Company in 1698, the Court of Directors of the London Company, writing to their President at Ft. St. George declared,¹ that the English Company had paid two tenths of their subscription; out of the first tenth, the discount had been allowed so that only 7 L was paid for the first 10 L; that the second £10 was paid in full so that £17 only had been paid for each £100 subscribed; that this £17 at the date of their letter October 28, 1698, sold for £14 which was a loss of nearly 25 % on each a £100; that this stock would diminish in value on the payment of each subsequent tenth; that this proved to be the fact for when the third installment was paid it sold at 5 % discount; that the effect of this fall had already been felt by the stock-holders of the new Company who had begun to place their reliance on the coalition with the old Company; and that though the Court were of the opinion that this might be the ultimate consequence they did not consider the present to be the time for listening to it, or indeed till the stock of the London and English Companies should bear nearly the same price. In December, 1698, the English Company still further lost confidence in their own speculation, for as the payments on their stock were made its value was depressed; and as early as March 1699, Mr. Papillon was employed by them, to ne-

1. Bruce, p 259.

fall had already been felt by the stock-holders
Company who had begun to place their reliance
upon the old Company; and that though
of the opinion that this might be the result
they did not consider the present to be the
time to do it, or indeed till the stock of
English Companies should bear nearly the same
price as the English Company still in
confidence in their own speculation, for as
their stock were made its value was depressed
as March 1892, Mr. Popham was employed by

gotiate a coalition between the two companies. This project the Court of Directors of the London Company were of the opinion was inadmissible, unless the English Company had ready money to pay for forts and factories etc. in India and to lay down the same sum to begin a new joint stock as the London Company were able to do.¹

Two months after these first efforts of Mr. Papillon, frequent meetings were held between persons deputed by both Companies for the purpose of concerting measures for a union.² The first demands of both parties were so extravagant that the plan was relinquished. The English Company finding after the advance of 50 % on the £2,000,000 and 20 % for their equipment or 70 % on the whole, that their stock would only sell for 57 % became sensible that their speculation was on the decline and proposed that the London Company should accept as much stock in addition to the £315,000 which they had subscribed for as would make up their proportion to £1,000,000. This proposal the London Company rejected on the ground that their charter still preserved them their privileges till September, 1701 and that whatever might be the result, their share of £315,000 in the new stock would be sufficient, independently of competition, to enable them to export as much British produce as could be sold in Indian markets. This refusal produced new approaches from the English Company for coalition; as the London Company had refused to lend any aid

1. Letter from the Court of the London Company to the President and Council of Ft. St. George, Dec. 15, 1698. Letter from the Court to the General and Council at Bombay, March 17, 1699.
2. Bruce, p 291.

in supporting their credit, they determined to make a bold effort and call upon their subscribers for a payment of 25 % for trade on their stock of £1, 633,000, although they had not as yet actually sent abroad more than £200,000. The payments now amounted to 95 % but the stock had proportionately decreased in value in the market below what it was when their payments were 70 % only, that is, 95 % sold in July 1699 for 74 % only.¹

On April 11, 1700, after considerable negotiation by the London Company, an Act for "Continuing the Governor and Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies, a Corporation until the redemption of the 2,000,000 advanced by the English Company" received the royal ascent.² The Directors of the English Company writing to their Consul at Surat concerning this matter declared that, "a bill had been introduced into Parliament in favor of the London Company which continued them a corporation, entitled to trade on the proportion of the stock of the English Company for which they had subscribed, but which placed them on no better footing than the Mercer's Company or any other corporation of London which might chuse to subscribe and subjected them to the payment of 5 % for the maintenance of

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1. The primary authorities for the above facts are, Letters from the Court to the General and Council in Bombay, May 5, July 28, 1699. Minutes of the Court of the London Company and representation of the English Company to the King on their proposals for union being rejected by the London Company, Feb. and March, 1700. (East India Papers in State Paper office, Part 11 No. 138, 139, 140.)
 2. East India Acts (Printed 1786) p 39. & Bruce p 294.
 3. Bruce, p 326.



public ministers."

During the latter part of the same year, Mr. Secretary Vernon by order of the King notified the London Company, that in the preceding year after the bill for continuing them a corporation had passed both Houses, but previously to its receiving the royal assent, their Governor and committees had readily agreed to the recommendation of the King, for forming a union with the English Company, and desired to know what measures had been taken by them to this effect.¹ In consequence of this notice a court of the Generality (Proprietors) was called on December 23, 1700, at which it was resolved "that this Company as they have always been, so are they still ready to embrace every opportunity, by which they may manifest their duty to his Majesty and zeal for the public good, and that they are desirous to contribute their utmost endeavors for the preservation of the East India trade to this kingdom, and are willing to agree with the new Company upon reasonable terms."

This resolution was communicated to the English Company² by Mr. Secretary Vernon, with a request to know the terms upon which they were willing to unite with the London Company. In consequence a general court of the English Company was held at Skinner's Hall on January 2, 1701, which came to the following resolutions as "reasonable terms" upon which they were willing to unite with the London Company, viz., that both Companies should bring home their

1. Bruce, p 355.

2. Ibid, p 356.

effects without delay, pay all their debts, and divide the surplus among their respective proprietors; that after a certain day (to be hereafter agreed upon) both Companies should cease from exporting goods separately; that the £ 315,000 subscribed by Mr. John Dubois should be added to the stock of the English Company; that to enable the London Company to have their proportionate share of the trade they should be allowed to purchase £314,000 of the stock of the English Company (in addition to the £315,000 above mentioned) so as to entitle the London Company to one third of the whole joint stock and trade; and that the valuation of the Dead Stock of the London Company and of the settlements of the English Company with the expenses of the Embassy to the great Mughal should be adjusted by arbitration.

In this situation Mr. Secretary Vernon desired ¹ a conference with the Governor and committees of the London Company and informed them that " his Majesty was glad to find that the London Company were disposed to unite with the English Company on reasonable terms, and that he would willingly know from themselves what those terms are."

A general court was accordingly summoned on January 27, 1701 at which it was resolved, " That what terms may be judged reasonable, they doe humbly conceive must arise from a treaty, and that they have appointed seaven persons of the Company to treat with a like number of the English Company in order to an union."²

1. Bruce, p 357.

2. Ibid, p 425.

On April 23, the Court met to receive such proposals as might be laid before them, when a plan suggested by Mr. John Draper to the Governor was read and Sir Basil Firebrace informed the Court that he had offers to make which he doubted not would produce a Union between the two Companies, but desired that a recompense might be allowed him for his trouble in the event of both Companies coming to an agreement. On the 24th, the Court resolved that the Committee of seven or any five of them should be authorised exclusively to receive or make proposals subject to the ultimate approbation of the general court, and also to settle the recompense to be given to Sir Basil Firebrace provided he could accomplish this important business. The Committee of Seven after repeated conferences with Sir Basil Firebrace submitted on June 6, 1701 to the Court of Committees that as a recompense if he effected the union, £150,000 of the stock of the Company should be transferred to him on his paying £80 for each £100, i.e., a reward of 20% on this sum as a compensation for his services. On September 26, 1701, Sir Basil Firebrace applied to the Court to prolong the time for the negotiation which was to expire on September 29, 1701, when it was agreed that he should be desired to proceed in bringing the treaty to a conclusion, and assured that he would represent his services to the General Court for such recompense as they should think proper.

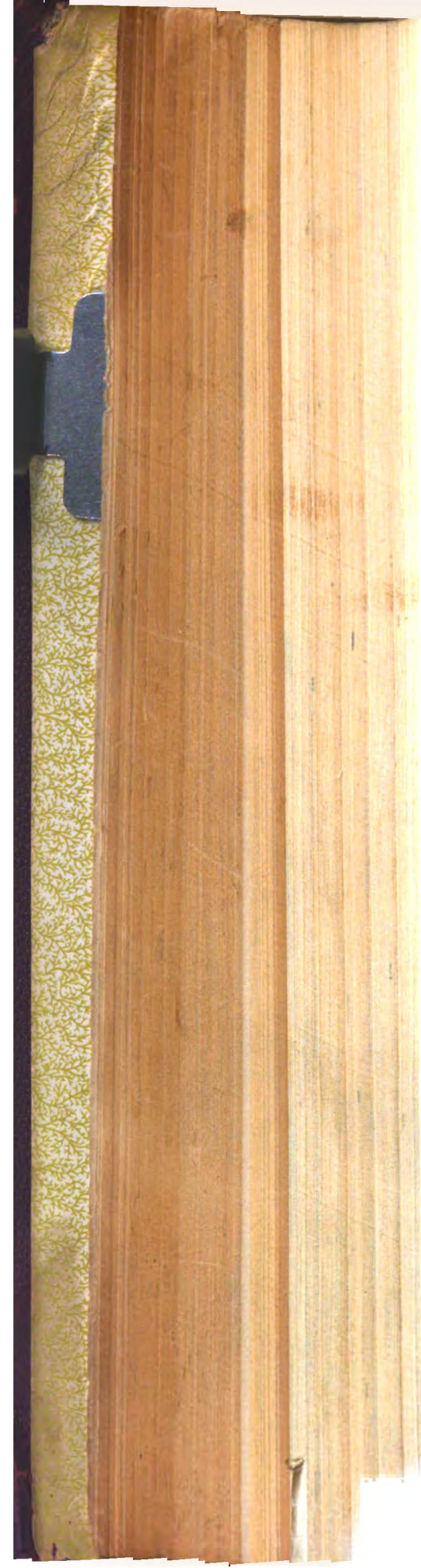


The conferences, however, continued from this period till the month of January, 1702, when the general terms of the Union were agreed upon by both Companies; namely, that a Committee of twelve of each Company should be appointed a Court of Managers: each Company to contribute a moiety of what the managers should think fit to export; the Court of Managers to have the future directions of all matters relating to trade and settlements, but the Factors of each Company to manage the separate stocks of their respective employers sent out before the Union and to return the same and clear all accounts and debts in India before the expiration of seven years, at which time, one great joint stock Company was to be formed by the Union of the two Companies. This agreement or Instrument of Union was approved by the general Courts of both Companies on April 27, 1702.¹

That there might be no ground for reciprocal complaint, it was agreed² that the equipments of the two Companies should remain under their respective Directors. By a preliminary Deed, therefore, signed and sealed by the Managers of both Companies and dated July 22, 1702, it was agreed that the London Company's ships, the "Howland", "Regard" and "Gloucester" and the English Company's ships the "Mary and Katherine" and the "Samuel and Anna" should continue on the separate account of their freighters.

This ground being taken an Identure Tripartite between

1. Bruce, p 426.
2. Ibid, p 406.



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the Queen and the two East India Companies, dated July 22, 1702, passed under the Great Seal of England, which in the correspondence of the Court with their foreign presidencies they described as their "Charter of Union". By this Deed it was settled that the London Company should purchase as much of the stock of the English Company at *paris* would vest in each an equal proportion of the £2,000,000 for the advance of which to the Government, the Charter had been originally granted to the English Company. The interests of the London and English Companies and Separate Traders were as follows:

The London Company's subscription.....	315,000
The English Company's "1,662,000
Separate Traders " <u>23,000</u>
	£ 2,000,000

By this agreement the interests of the two Companies were fixed as follows:

Purchase of stock by the London Company	
£673,000 in addition to their former stock	
making their share together.....	£ 988,500
English Company's proportion.....	988,500
Separate Traders " <u>23,000</u>
	2,000,000

Having thus settled the mutual interests of the two Companies as far as regarded their respective stocks, it was decided that in future the trade to India should be carried on for seven years on the two united stocks in the name of

the English Company, as thereby the privileges granted by the Charters of both Companies and the Act of Parliament would be best preserved, but the London Company was to have an equal management of the trade.

The principal difficulties of adjusting the respective interests of the two Companies being thus removed, estimates were made of the Dead Stock of both Companies. The Dead Stock of the London Company was valued at £330,000 and that of the English Company at £ 70,000. The English Company were, therefore, to pay £130,000 to the London Company so as to make up £ 200,000 for their half of the whole dead stock of £400,000. The London Company were to retain the use of their Dead Stock at home, during seven years and after that term they were to go to the United Company. During this period also, each Company was to hold their distinct Courts and might raise money either for their respective shares of the United Trade or for paying their separate debts; but all debts contracted for the Joint Trade were to be paid out of the United Company's stock; each Company, forthwith were to bring home their separate estates and make dividends to their respective proprietors after which neither Company was to send out ships, bullion, or goods on their separate account.

A Court of twenty-four managers was appointed, twelve to be chosen from each Company for carrying on the trade and to act according to such rules as might be settled by the general courts of both Companies empowered to make by-laws for the United Trade; each Company was to furnish an equal

part of the stock for the United Trade and to export one tenth of their cargoes in goods of the growth or manufacture of England, but no transaction on the jointtrade was to be adopted without the consent of both Companies, the general Courts of which and the Court of Managers were to have the sole government of all their forts, factories, etc. in India and to appoint Governors and officers with powers to build forts, etc. and raise, train and muster a military force for defense of the same and with authority to coin foreign money in India.

,The London Company was to convey with the Queen's license the islands of Bombay and St. Helena to the English Company and resign their Charters to the Queen in two months after the expiration of the seven years and thenceforward the Charter of the English Company (1698) was to be considered that of both and the two East India Companies were to take the name in the future of "The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies." Their affairs were to be conducted by their own Directors agreeably to the Charter of 1698.¹

This Deed was followed on the same day by what was termed a Quinque-Partite Indenture of Conveyance of the Dead Stock of the two East India Companies. This Indenture was made between the London Company of the First Part; the English Company of the Second Part; Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, Trustee of the London Company's Free-hold Warehouses in

1. Indenture Tripartite between the Queen and the two Companies, dated July 22, 1702. (Printed collection of charters p 243.)

Great St. Helens, London of the Third Part; Sir Thomas Davall and others Trustees of the London Company's Leasehold Warehouses in Great St. Helens of the Fourth Part; and Sir James Bateman and others Trustees for the English Company of the Fifth Part . The object of the Deed was to ascertain the Dead Stock of each Company, that it might pass to the United Company at the termination of seven years in the manner specified in the Indenture Tripartite above recited . By this Deed the London Company agreed to transfer the Charters by which they held the islands of Bombay and St. Helena to the English Company for £200,000 credit in the United Trade, and the sum of £130,000 paid to them in money, and also their rights to all their several forts and factories within the limits of their Charter in the East Indies;¹ and the English Company on the other hand were to be allowed £70,000 for their Dead Stock, consisting of various forts and factories. It was also mutually covenanted that both Companies should enjoy the respective profits and pay the respective charges of all their settlements to the date of this Deed,² July 22, 1702.

As soon as these measures were decided upon, they were at once communicated by the Directors of both Companies to their servants in India. But it was not so easy for these men to depart at once from an opposition of interests which

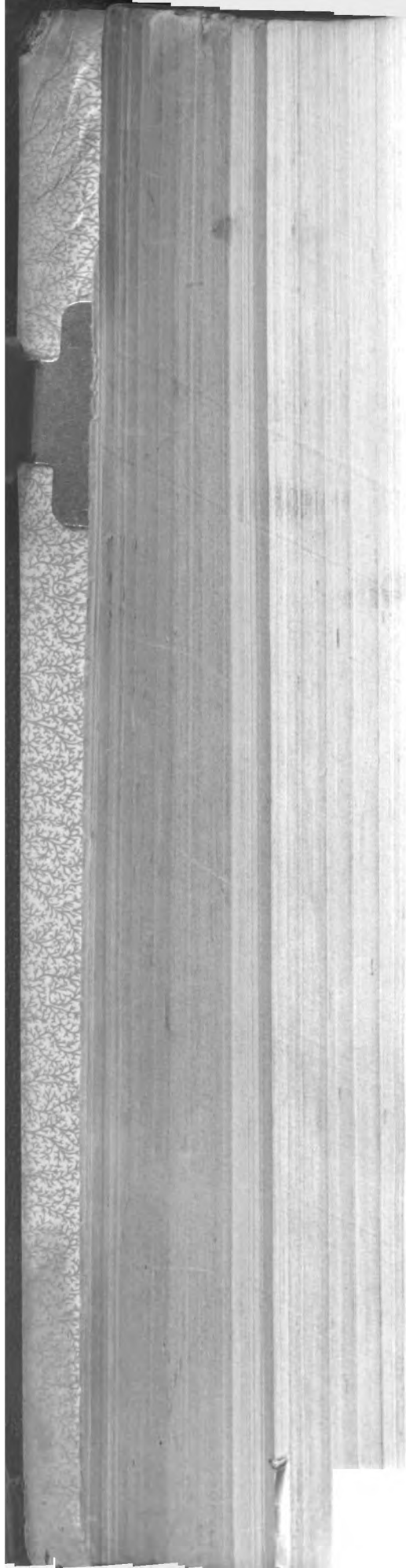
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1. For the list of possessions thus handed over, see Bruce, p 490.
 2. Indenture Quinque Partite or The Conveyance of the Dead Stock of the two East India Companies dated July 22, 1702 (Printed collection of Charters, p 316) Macpherson, p 721-3.

had wrought itself up into animosity and in some instances to revenge, though they were enjoined to lay aside all opposition and to forward the reciprocal views of the two Companies for lowering the prices of Indian commodities and disposing without rivalry of the European goods remaining in the warehouses. The manner in which this news was received and acted upon at each of the three presidencies of Surat, the Coast and Bengal, was as follows:

In Surat Sir Nicholas Waite intimated the event in a formal manner to Sir John Gayer and he with equal formality, notified it to the Consul, each professing readiness to adopt measures for mutual interest in obedience to orders but neither reposing confidence in the professions of the other.¹ When the new Court of Managers chosen by the two Companies took the general administration into their hands, they reappointed Sir John Gayer to be General and Governor of Bombay, Mr. Burniston to be Deputy-Governor and Sir Nicholas Waite to be President of Surat; for as yet they were uninformed whether Sir John Gayer had been liberated from the confinement in which the Governor of Surat had placed him.² It was ordered however that as soon as might be practicable he should remove to the seat of government at Bombay and avoid all explanations with the Governor of Surat till he should be in a situation when he could act independently; in the meantime, to prevent the recurrence of hostilities the consular powers of Sir Nicholas Waite were

2. Bruce, p 531.

1. Correspondence between Sir John Gayer and Sir Nicholas Waite, Dec. 5, 7, 1702.



revoked. It was also ordered that subsequently to July 22, 1702, all charges were to be defrayed by the United Stock and that all vacancies were to be filled from the covenanted servants of the two Companies, conformably to their respective ranks. Supernumeraries had permission either to return to England or to remain as Free Merchants in India. Further an exact account was to be taken of the sums which had been extorted from the London Company for piracies, but if the Firmans had not been obtained by Sir Nicholas Waite all negotiations respecting them was to terminate.

At Surat long habit of opposition between Sir John Gayer and Sir Nicholas Waite continued to affect their conduct.¹ The incident of Sir John Gayer having received the earliest notice of the completion of the Union excited considerable jealousy in Sir Nicholas Waite. Gayer intimated to the Court that he should immediately enter upon the duty of opening the new books from July 22, 1702, and that he had required Waite to be present when the inventories of the Dead Stock of the London Company were taken. This invitation was refused, the reason being given that Sir John Gayer by notifying the Union to the Governor of Surat (the Firmans not yet having been obtained) had brought on a misunderstanding which might be prejudicial to the English Company's affairs, and that Waite could not take any share in making up the inventories of the London Company's Dead

1. Bruce, p 542.

Letters from Sir Nicholas Waite and Council to the Court of Managers of the English Company May 24, 25, June 19, Sept. 20, Nov. 14, 30, 1703. Letters from Sir John Gayer and Council at Surat to the Court of the London Co. Dec. 1, 1703.



Stock, as their books had not regularly been balanced. On one point only the Presidents agreed, namely, that force was the only means that could be used to stop the oppressions of the Mughal Government/. Later in the season these opinions were confirmed by the renewal of the Mughal's oppressions with increased vigor, all the Europeans being imprisoned and new security bonds extorted from them for the sum of six lakhs of rupees for payment of damages done by pirates who had captured one of the Mocha ships off Swally Bar. Sir Nicholas Waite to ward off the blow from the English Factory equiped one of their yatches and at the Governor's desire, despatched her on a cruise in search of the pirates. But this did not induce the Governor to release the agents of the London Company from their houses. Under these circumstances trade was at a standstill.¹

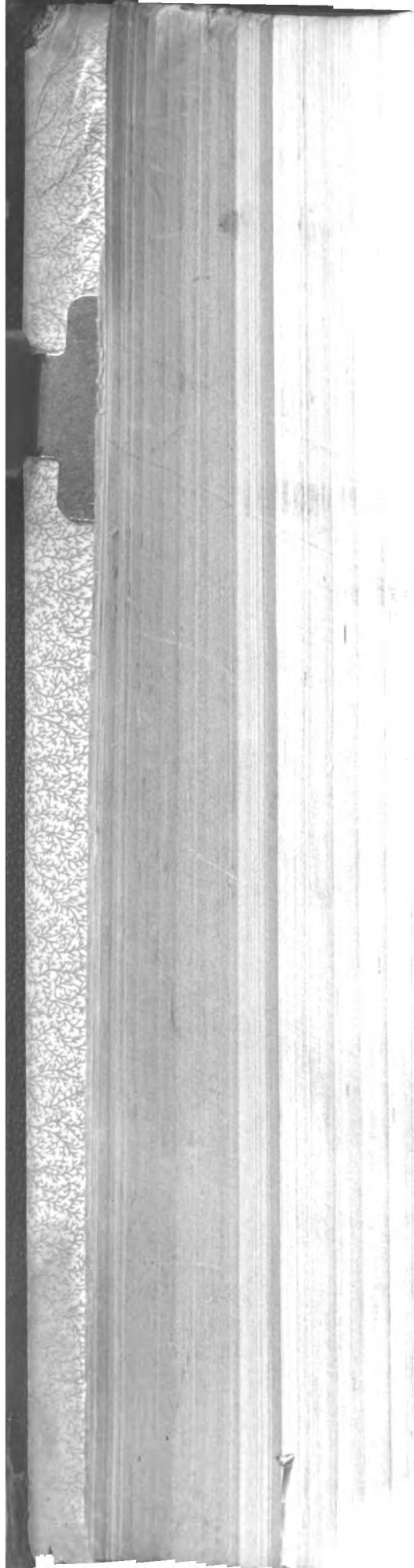
During all this time the general and council of the old factory were suffering a long and tedious confinement². They were not permitted to pass the gates of their own buildings and could only receive a daily allowance of provisions. Moreover an order had come from the Court that unless Gayer was liberated in three months after its arrival in India, Waite should act for him as Governor-General. In these circumstances, Sir Nicholas Waite not only refused to be responsible for the security bonds of the London Company but gave the Governor of Surat to understand that Sir John Gayer

1. Letter from Sir John Gayer and Council at Surat to the Court of the London Co. Dec. 1, 1703. Letters from Sir Nicholas Waite and Council to the Court of Managers and to the Eng. Co. May 24, 25, June 19, Sept. 2, Nov. 14, 30, 1703.

2. Anderson, p 167-8.

made General and he himself in his stead; and that if the Governor wished to recover money for damages done by pirates he would better place a strong guard over the Factory.¹ Supporting these representations by a bribe of 27,000 rupees he contrived that the three months specified by the Court should elapse and he himself be installed as General. Burniston and Harland the new Commodore in vain remonstrated with him for this ungenerous conduct and declared to the Governor that he was acting in opposition to directions received from home. Waite excused himself by declaring that Gayer owed his calamities to his own rashness and that if, instead of precipitately making known the Union of the two Companies he had concealed it for a time, their separate interests would have been adjusted and he himself set at liberty. But it is certain that Sir Nicholas Waite paid no attention to positive orders from the Court of Managers to use every effort to procure Sir John Gayer's release. Meanwhile Waite as general had gone to Bombay with his Council. Naturally the trade suffered heavily from this mutual opposition and the situation was further complicated by individual disputes between the

1. The primary authorities for the above facts are, Letters from Sir John Gayer and Council at Surat to the court of Managers and to the court of the London Company May 29, Oct. 15, Nov. 30, 1704, Jan. 24, 1705. Letters from Sir Nicholas Waite and Council at Surat and subsequently at Bombay to the Court of Managers and the Court of the English Company, April 18, May 31, June 23, July 28, Nov. 30, Dec. 30, 1704, Jan. 25, Feb. 1, 24, March 5, 16, 31, April 5, 1705. Letters from Mr. Burniston, Deputy-Governor of Bombay and Commodore Harland to the Governor of Surat June 23, 1704.



Factors of both Companies as well as by the confused state of the Mughal Empire owing to the declining years of Aurangzeb. At this critical time, however, in 1606-7 the United Council was made up consisting of ¹ Mr. Bendall, President, Mr. Proby, Second, Mr. Wyche, Third, and Mr. Boone, Fourth, i.e., two of the London Company's servants to be first and third and two of the English Company's to be second and fourth. These nominations, however, Sir Nicholas Waite disapproved of, though Sir John Gayer - still in confinement agreed to employ for the united trade all the civil servants of the London Company whom he could spare. The opposition of Sir Nicholas Waite to Sir John Gayer continued up till 1708, when the two Companies were formally united under the "Award of Jodolphin" and Sir Nicholas Waite was dismissed from the service. Waite was unfortunate enough to offend every man with whom he came in contact, though his intense zeal for his masters may be in some sense an excuse for his rather arbitrary measures.

On the Coast of the Coromandel the Court of Directors of the London Company writing to their President concerning the Act of Union stated ² that the Court of Managers unani-

1. Bruce, p 520.

Letters from Sir John Gayer and Council at Surat to the Court of Managers and of the London Company April 25, Nov. 12, 1706, Feb. 7, 13, March 1, 1707. Letters from Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnel to the United Council at Surat and to the Court of Managers, Sept. 13, 1706, Jan. 20, Feb. 14, 20, 1707. Letters from Sir Nicholas Waite and Council at Bombay to the Court of Managers and of the English Company May 9, Oct. 13, Dec. 24, 1706, Jan. 23, March 17, 1707.

2. Bruce, p 505.

Letters from Pres. Thomas Pitt and Council at Ft. St. George to the Pres. and Council at Surat Sept. 4, 1702, Letters from the Governor and Council at Ft. St. David to

mously appointed Mr. Thomas Pitt to be Governor of Fort St. George and Mr. John Pitt to be Governor of Fort St. David with an independent power in civil and military affairs and eventually to succeed to the government of Fort St. George, but to be subordinate to President Pitt and his Council in all matters regarding trade and investments. The first news of the Union arrived at Madras from some of the crew of the English Company's ship "Norris". On this occasion President Pitt wrote to the Court of Directors of the English Company as follows " My gratitude as an Englishman obliges me to pay all respect to the blessed memory of King William and to remember that great saying of his to the French kings Plenipotentiary at Ryswick, upon concluding the peace, ' 'twas my fate and nott my choice that made mee your enemy ' ; and since you and my masters are united itt shall be my utmost endeavor to purchase your good opinion and deserve you friendship." The event of the death of Consul Pitt¹ which took place at Deverampant on May 8, 1703, by again rendering Fort St. David a dependency of Fort St. George, facilitated the measures taken for adjusting the separate concerns of both Companies on the Coast of the Coromandel.

A different state of things prevailed in Bengal. There was a difference of opinion among the Court of Managers as to the best means of adjusting affairs there.² It was finally decided to defer the appointment of a President for

1. Bruce, p 544-5.

2. Ibid, 500-1. Letters from the Court of Directors to the President and Council in Bengal Aug. 4, 1702, Feb. 26, 1703.



one year, and to order the business of the united trade to be carried on by a committee composed of the four senior members of the councils of both Companies, of which the first member of each (Mr. Halsey and Mr. Wedges-) was to be alternately weekly President, but that all due respect was to be paid to Mr. Beard and Sir Edward Littleton (no longer vested with consular authority) who were during this year to direct their attention to wind up the separate affairs of each Company. The residence of the Council of both Companies was to be in future at Calcutta. When the information of the Act of Union was received in Bengal¹ "a complimentary intercourse only" took place between Sir Edward Littleton and Mr. Beard. The United Council had first of all however to meet the extortions of the Foujdar of Hugli who refused to allow the transit of the Company's goods. Bribes only incited him to further demands and it was not until President Beard stopped all the Mughal's ships going to Surat and Persia for nine days that the fear of offending the Emperor induced the Foujdar to allow the Company's goods to pass from Hugli to Calcutta. The affairs in Bengal as might have been expected were complicated both from the difficulty of winding up the accounts for the three separate interests of the London, the English and the United Stocks, from the objection of the native powers to transfer to the United Company the privileges the London Company enjoyed and from the objections of the London and United Companies to incur the risks for payments to which the English



Company were subjected from not having a Firman. Moreover, the arrangement of alternate weekly presidents was openly ridiculed as absurd. The books of both Companies were in a very bad state which further complicated matters and difficulties at once occurred respecting the rank which each member of the new Council was to hold as some of those¹ nominated by the London Company were dead. The moderation of the English Company's servants, however, induced them to cede the rank to the servants of the London Company to prevent "any disputes occurring at the commencement of the United Trade. This left Mr. Beard and Sir Edward Littleton free to discharge the duties that had been assigned to them.

At the close of the year 1703, the servants of the English Company and their effects were placed in security at Calcutta and in Fort William and all the Dead Stock of both Companies put under the administration of the United Council.² However, the affairs of both Companies were still somewhat involved³ and the servants of both Companies complained of the conduct of Sir Edward Littleton whose transactions had been very irregular if not unscrupulous and whose accounts were in a very bad shape. The Council, however acted in perfect accord - probably owing to the ex-

1. Bruce, p 506. Letters from the pres. and Council at Ft. William to the Court Aug. 15, Dec. 12, 15, 24, 1702. Jan. 6, Feb. 11, 17, 1703.

2. Bruce, p 548.

3. Ibid, p 577. Also, Letters from the Pres. and council and the United Council at Calcutta to the Court of the London Co. and the Court of Managers, Nov. 18, Dec. 15, 1703, Jan. 20, 1704. Letters from the President and Council and from the United Council to the Court of the English Co. and the Court Managers, Dec. 11, 1703, Jan. 10, 14, 1704.

clusion of both Mr. Beard and Sir Edward Littleton . The
order¹ of the Court of the English Company for the dismissal
of Sir Edward Littleton from the office of President
of Bengal was received in 1705; and President Beard having
gone to Madras whence accounts were received of his death,
the same unanimity prevailed in the United Council as in the
preceding year. This enabled them at once to take measures
for the winding up of the separate concerns of the two Com-
panies.

1. Bruce, p 604.

Also, Letters from the United Council in Bengal to the
Court of Managers, Nov. 20, 1705, Jan. 17, Feb. 15, 1706.
Letters from the separate council of the English Company
to the Court of Directors Dec. 5, 28, 1705.



CHAPTER VIII.

GODOLPHIN'S AWARD AND THE ABSORPTION OF THE ENGLISH EAST

INDIA COMPANY AFTER A LIFE OF TEN YEARS.

By the terms of the Act of Union of 1702, it was decided¹ that the trade to India should be carried on for seven years in the name of the English Company, on the two united stocks. In 1707-8 accordingly a new adjustment of the trade was made. The public resources required at this time to maintain a general war in Europe required a call for aid from every Corporation and among others from the East India Company. The Earl of Godolphin at this time Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and Chief Minister of Finance, required of the East India Company a loan to the public of £1,200,000.² An Act 6 Queen Anne Cap. 17, was accordingly passed, ostensibly for raising the sum; but from its provisions it comprehended and settled by an appeal to the Award of the Earl of Godolphin, all those jarring interests which had hitherto divided the two Companies.

The preamble of this Act recited³ the substance of the Act 9 William III, Cap. 44, or "an Act for raising a sum not to exceed £2,000,000 upon a fund for payment of annuities after the rate of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ per annum and for settling the trade to the East Indies."

1. Bruce, p 635.
 2. Ibid, p 637.
 3. Ibid, p 637-9.



It also recited the Charters or Letters Patent dated the 3d and 5th of September 10 William III (1698) for establishing the "General Society" and the "English East India Company". It further recited the Act 11 William III (1699) enacting that the London Company should remain a Body Corporate and Politic, till the redemption of the fund granted by the preceding Act; and also the Indenture Tripartite dated July 22, 1702, between the Queen and the London and English Companies, and then provided that the English (United Company) in behalf of themselves and the London Company, united by the said Indenture Tripartite or Deed of Union, should advance to the Queen the sum of £1,200,000 as a loan for carrying on the war, without any additional interest; that to enable the said Company to raise this sum, they were empowered by this act to borrow £1,500,000 on securities under the Common Seal of the English Company (then in the hands of the Managers of the United Trade) on account of the United Stock; and to call in money from their respective proprietors for the purpose of repaying the said borrowed money or the interest thereof; that the sum of £1,200,000 so advanced should be deemed additional stock of the said Company and exempted from all taxes; that for the encouragement of the English (United Company) to continue their trade, it was enacted by this Act that the proviso in the Act 9 William III Cap. 44, "that the English Company should cease and determine on three years notice after the 29th of September, 1711, and on repayment of their capital stock of £2,000,000" should



be repealed; and that the English (United) Company should under this Act continue to be a Body Politic and Corporate till March 25, 1726 and then should cease and determine on three years notice and the repayment of their capital stock of £3,200,000 ; that the separate stock of the General Society, amounting to £7,200,000 should by this Act be confirmed, with all its privileges of trade; but that it should be lawful for the English (United) Company on giving three years notice of their intention after September 29, 1711 to pay off said Separate Stock which should, after that period, be incorporated in the stock of the English (United) Company; and in order to complete the Union between the London and the English Companies, it was enacted that all matters still in difference between them, should by the desire of both Companies be submitted to the Award of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain; such award under his Lordship's hand and seal to be binding and conclusive on both Companies and to be completed on or before September 29, 1708 after which the London Company were to surrender their Charters and the English Company assume the name of the "United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies;" and the persons who at the time of the said surrender, might be Managers of the United Trade were to be the Directors of the United Company, till the next election. Accordingly the award of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain , dated September 29, 1708 was introduced



with a recapitulation of the powers with which his Lordship was vested by the Act (6 Queen Anne Cap.17) by which he was appointed Arbitrator in all matters between the London and English Companies and the United Company and that his Award should be final and decisive.

Having heard all the parties by Counsel on their respective rights, he decided as follows: - that all debts or money due the London Company, in India, China, Persia, St. Helena, etc. and also all debts due the English Company in India, China, etc. and the separate goods, wares and merchandise of both Companies, loaded on ships in India and which might not arrive in the river Thames before September 1, 1708 should become the stock or property of the United Company; that the London Company should transfer to the Queen by Indenture, under their Common Seal all their foreign debts before October 31, 1708 to the intent that the Queen might regrant the same within ten days after that date to the United Company; that after such regrant or transfer by the Queen the United Company should be liable to pay the separate debts both of the London and English Companies in India, that is, in all countries within the limits of their Charters.

The Award found that the estate and effects of the London Company would not be sufficient to pay their foreign

1. Russel's India Acts 6 Queen Anne Cap.17, p 46. Macpherson, vol. 111, 1 to 13.

Note. By the Act 10 Queen Anne, Cap.28, the corporate capacity of the United Company, is confirmed as perpetual, as by this Act, it is expressly stated that only the annuity or yearly fund of £160,000 should on 3 yrs. notice after March 25, 1733 and on repayment of the loans of £3,200,000



debts, to which debts the United Company would become liable from the date of this Award; and therefore decreed that the London Company should pay by installments to the United Company the sum of £ 96, 615 , 4s 9d. The Award further found that the estate and the effects of the English Company in India would exceed their separate debts and therefore decreed that the United Company should pay the sum of £66,005 4s 2d to the Directors of the English Company for the use of their respective members; But that the debt due by Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal amounting to 80, 437 rupees 8 annas was still to remain to the English Company on their additional stock and not to be added to the United Stock as a debt in the East Indies. The Award then found that the London Company was indebted to a large amount in Great Britain and therefore empowered them to call on their Proprietors to raise £100,000 before December 1, 1708 and £100,000 before February 1, 1709 and such further sums before March, 1709 as would be sufficient to clear off all their home debts. Further to equalize the stock of the two Companies, that when the London Company should have raised £100,000 the United Company should repay to them one third of the said money, or additional stock advanced by them at the Union for carrying on the United Trade; and when they should have raised the second £100,000

... cease and determine; but not "the Corporations erected in pursuance of former Acts or the benefits of trade granted by them or by any Charters made in pursuance thereof "

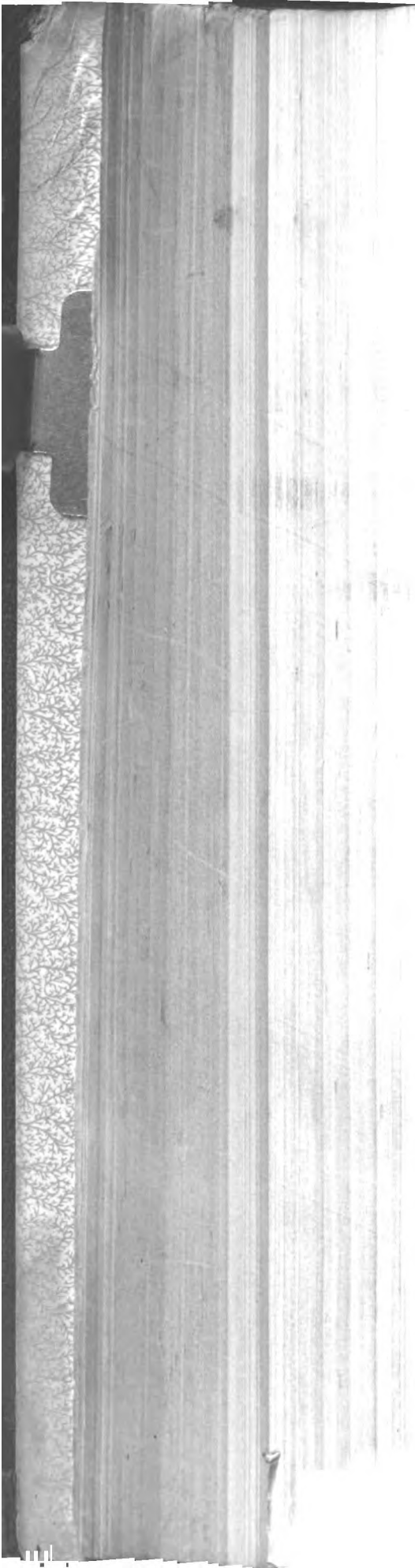
1. Bruce, p 667-679.



The main body of the image is a blank, off-white page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of the book. There is some very faint, illegible ghosting of text from the reverse side of the page, which appears to be arranged in a table or list format. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.

another one third of the said additional stock should in like manner be repaid; and when they should have raised a sum sufficient to defray all their debts in Great Britain, the remainder of the said additional stock should be repaid with the exception of £70,000 which was to be reserved as a security that the London Company would surrender all their Charters to the Queen on or before March 25, 1709, which sum on their failing to make such surrender should be forfeited to the United Company, excluding, however, all such members of it, as might have been former members of the London Company; but in the event of such surrender being made on or before that day this sum of £70,000 was to be vested in Trustees who were authorized to pay any remaining debts of the London Company that might at that date be left unpaid; and should any surplus remain, such surplus was to be distributed among the members of the London Company.

The Award further decided, that the London Company, if they should think fit, before the day specified for the surrender of their Charters, might assign to the Queen such debts owed to them in Great Britain as they might not be able to get in before that date, to the end that the same might afterwards be regranted to Trustees for their benefit; and lastly, it decided that the London Company should transfer before March 19, 1709 to their separate members, all such stock in proportion to their respective shares, as the said London Company might have in the stock of the United Company, and that the members having a right to it



should be admitted to all the privileges of the United Company. This Award proceeding on the authority of the Act of Parliament was to be confirmed in all its parts by a decree of the High Court of Chancery.¹ The following interesting authenticated document signed by the Company's General Accountant and his Deputy dated September 29, 1698 will afford the best illustration of the preceding Award.

*The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, their Account Current.

Dr.	L	s.	d.
To money at int. owing to sundry on the Company's Seal.....	1,035,448-	9-	3
To six months interest thereon due this day.....	31,063 -	9 -	1
To int. for several bonds that may have 12 or 18 months due.....	3,000	0	0
To int. on bonds owing more than the 70 $\frac{1}{2}$ will pay from this day to the first of March next.....	6,425	- 16 -	7
To alms house at Poplar owing to them.....	2,700	- 0 -	0
To customs and to freight and to several persons for goods sold in private trade..	9,728	10	9
To customs and freight due to the United Company	16,312	- 5 -	3
To money owing several for interest on their stock not demanded	6,918	18	5
To a moiety of Factors' salaries pay- able here and money paid into the Company's cash in India. to be repaid here.....	25,000	0	0

1. Lord Godolphin's Award dated September 29, 1708 (printed collection of Charters, p 345.)

	£	s.	d.
	10,000-0	0	
To charges from this day to March 25			
To balance of the Indian Account as			
by the Lord Treasurer's Award.....	99,615	-4	9
To difference on £28,000 stock in contra			
with the present market price 85 ½.....	6,429	-3	5
To difference on the £11,000 10s in con			
tra.....	165	10	0
	<u>£ 1,249,807</u>	-7	-6

Cr.	£	s.	d.
By 70 ½ on the £908,500 due from the			
United Company.....	691,950	-0	0
By interest thereon due this day.....	20,758	-10	0
By six mon'hs interest on the fund due at			
Christmas.....	39,540	0	0
By the 8 and 12 quarterly payments on £315,000			
subscribed to the fund.....	12,600	-0	0
By a moiety of 5 ½ paid by the separate			
traders of the United Company.....	8,328	-15	8
By disbursements for the United Company.....	17,000	0	0
By £28,000 stock in the names of Charles			
Du Bois and T.W. in trust and interest			
thereon till the first of March next.....	30,229	-3	5
By £1,100 10s stock in the name of Robert			
Blackbone in trust.....	1,100	-10	0
By goods remaining in the warehouses.....	1,100	-0	0
By goods debt in England.....	3,000	-0	0
By cash remaining this day.....	24,504	-19	4
	<u>£ 850,011</u>	-18	-5
By balance	<u>399,795</u>	-9	-1
	<u>£1,249,807</u>	-7	-6

London Sept. 29, 1708
 (signed) Sam. Waters accot. Generall
 J. Fletcher, Deputy.



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On the basis of this Award and the accounts subjoined to it, the Court of Committees of the London Company and the Directors of the English Company closed their separate concerns with the following circular letter to all their presidencies, settlements and factories in India.

"To all and every person whatsoever that have been employed in the service of the Governor and Company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies, at Fort St/. George and elsewhere on the Coromandel Coast, etc. (Bombay, Surat, Fort William, etc. etc.)

Sirs:-

"This serves to inform you, that in the Act of Parliament passed last session, for making a further loan of £1,200,000 to the Government which Act went to all parts of India by the last shipping, there was a clause empowering the most Honorable Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, to settle by his Lordship's Award the terms of a perfect, speedy and complete Union between the two Companies; In pursuance of which his Lordship has made and published his Award, and thereby directed that all the effects of the old and new Companies in all plac~~s~~ whatsoever within the limits of their Charter or elsewhere that were not imported into England by the first of September last, should be made over and vested in the United Company; and that the old Company should assign unto Her Majesty by Indenture under their Common Seal, to be enrolled in Chancery all moneys owing or answerable to them

beyond the seas, to the end Her Majesty may be pleased to grant the same to the United Company, which has been accordingly complied with; and the new Company are likewise directed that all debts owing them on account of their shares shall be vested in them for the benefit of the United Company which will be taken care of in like manner; and the United Company are to pay all such debts in the East Indies, as shall appear to be justly due from either Company, so that from September 29 last the date of the said Award, neither the old or the new Company on their separate accounts have anything farther to do or to be at any farther charge in the East Indies, Persia, China, St. Helena, or elsewhere beyond the seas on any account whatsoever, as we on our parts now do by these presents, write to you and all other our settlements; and so the new (old) Company do and will on theirs, inform in like manner all their servants employed on their separate affairs; being the result of the Award as to what concerns India, we hereby direct that you on receipt here of or as soon after as the first conveyency will allow you do give in an account of all debts and demands whatsoever owing or due us or upon our account and make the same over to the United Council for the account of the United Trade; and that you do also deliver to the said Council all our books of accounts as well the general books as those kept by any inferiors whether the warehouse keepers, warehouses, store-keepers, paymasters, mint-masters, charges generall or any other other books which contain any account of disbursements, receipts or payments



or payments of our money or goods of what nature soever, and also all consultation books registers of letters received or sent, and all originall Phirmaunds, or other grants from the country princes or governours, and copies thereof if you have any, and all other books ,papers and writings whatsoever, any way belonging to us, to the end recourse may be had thereto by the United Councils on all future occasions; and that all the goods and effects whatsoever of ours be delivered to the said Council for the benefit of the United Company and do you draw out a list of the said particulars so delivered unto the united Council and acquaint them that it is desired they will give a receipt for the same according to the list, and send three of the same tenour by the shiping to the United Company, entering also the same into their consultation book at the time when they gave the said receipt.

Send likewise a list of all that isto or from us within your presidency.

We are your loving friends,

Signed by the Committees and Directors of the London and English Companies.

East India House, Jan. 28, 1708-9.

The subsequent proceedings required to fulfill the stipulations in Lord Godolphin's Award occurred in the latter part of this and the subsequent years and were as follows

One of the provisions in Lord Godolphin's Award was,¹

1. Deed of assignment from the London Company to Queen Anne of the debts due them in Great Britain, Mach 21, 1709. (MSS in Indian Register Office)



10

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that the London Company should by assignment to the Queen make over to her Majesty all debts due them in Great Britain, that her Majesty might reassign the same to Trustees for her benefit. This assignment was made by the London Company to the Queen on March 21, 1709 by a Deed under their Common Seal.

A second condition in Lord Godolphin's Award was,¹ that the London Company should under a penalty of £70000 surrender to the Queen all their Charters, rights and capacities as a body politic and corporate as "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies by virtue of any Charters, Acts of parliament, or Letters Patent" which surrender was accordingly made on March 22, 1709 by Deed under their Common Seal enrolled in Chancery and accepted by her Majesty by Letters Patent dated May 7, 1709.

This Deed is illustrated by the following statement and explanatory note of the debts and credits of the London Company made up to the day on which they surrendered their Charters to her Majesty and ceased to be a Body Politic and Corporate.

The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, their Account Current.

1. Deed of surrender of the London Company to Queen Anne of all their Charters and Corporate capacities dated March 22, 1709 (- Letters Patent accepting the Charters of the London Company dated May 7, 1709 (printed collection of Charters, p 355



Dr.	£	s	d
To money at interest to sundry owing on the Company's seal,.....	9,730	15-	10
To interest on the above sum.....	3,209	4	- 1
To freight and several persons for goods sold in private trade.....	3,445	- 9	- 1
To money owing several on the stock not yet demanded.....	3,559	-17-	8
To a moiety of Factors' salaries payable here and money paid into the Company's cash in India to be repaid here.....	27,102	- 11	- 6
To Do. for what due to several persons for salary till Sept. 1708 not before accounted for.....	1,546	-0	9
To Bills of exchange and charges not yet demanded.....	352	7	- 2
	£ 130,056- 5-4		

Memorandum

That of the above article of
Factors' salaries £ 5582 13s 6d is
reckoned doubtful being of a long stand-
ing of which sum £3000 is for salaries to
several persons that were at Bombay between
the years 1686 and the time of the war,
the Company not having any books from
thence for that time do believe they received
their whole salary at such a perilous season.

Cr.	£	s	d
To the remainder of 70 % due from the United Company.....	70,000	- 0	- 0
To £ 287000 stock valued at 85 %	23,000	- 0	-)
By good debts in England.....	706	11	6

Dr. ...

To money at interest to sundry owing on the Company's seal, 18-10 1,970

To interest on the above sum, 1-1 2,208 4

To freight and several personal goods sold in private trade, 9-1 2,445

To money owing several on the stock not yet demanded, 17-8 2,282

To a moiety of Factors' salaries paid in India and money paid into the Company's cash in India to be repaid here, 11-6 17,192

To Do. for what due to several persons for salary till Sept. 1708 not before accounted for, 0-0 1,245

To Bills of exchange and charges not yet demanded, 2-2 252

£ 130,054-2-4

Memorandum

That of the above article of Factors' salaries £ 2882 13s 6d is reckoned doubtful being of a long standing of which sum £3000 is for salaries to several persons that were at Bombay between the years 1685 and the time of the war, the Company not having any books from whence for that time do believe they received their whole salary as such a previous manner.

Or.

To the remainder of 10 £ due from the United Company, 0-0 10,000

To a 287000 stock valued at 65 £, 0-0 28,700

By good debts in England, 11-6 17,192

	141		
	£	s	d
By money due on 25 th	23,116	0	0
By cash remaining this day.....	5,470	13	9
	£ 123,113 - 5 - 1		
By balance	6,943	0	3
	£130,056 - 5 - 4		

A third provision in the Award of Lord Godolphin was that the London Company should before October 31, 1708 transfer and assign to the Queen all their foreign debts to the intent that the same should be regranted to the United Company; and the London Company having by Indenture dated October 27, 1708 made such assignments, the Queen by Letters Patent dated April 22, 1709 signified her acceptance of this assignment and transferred and assigned to the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies all the debts or sums of money owing to the London Company on their separate account in the East Indies and granted them powers to sue for and recover them by exchequer process. In consequence of these Deeds when the whole of the debts due by and to the London Company in Great Britain were adjusted to the time of the surrender of their Charters the Queen by Letters Patent dated August 15 1710 reassigned to Sir Jonathen Andrews and other Trustees, any such debts that might be subsequently recovered on their account to be divided among the former members of the London Company in proportion to their respective shares or interests. Thus ended the English East India Company

1. Letters Patent assigning to the United Company all foreign debts due to the London Company, April 22, 1709.

after a brief life of ten years and also the London East
India Company after a longer and more famous life.¹

1. Letters patent reassigning to Sir Jonathen Andrews and others in trust any debts in Great Britain due to the London Company dated Aug. 15, 1710. (Printed collection of Charters, Appendix, p 10)

After a brief life of ten years and also the London East
India Company after a longer and more famous life.

I. Letters patent reassigning to Sir Jonathan Andrews and
others in trust any debts in Great Britain due to the
London Company dated Aug. 18, 1710. (Printed collection
of Charters, Appendix, p. 10)

APPENDIX.

1

Beard, John Jr. was the son of John Beard, a keeper of the East India Company's Surat Warehouse in London. He was nominated a Writer on October 5, 1681 and apparently accompanied his father to India on board the "Defence". On his father's death the Court recommended the Hugli Council to appoint him to one of the Councils in Bengal. He appears as one of the Bengal Council at the time of their expulsion and sojourn at Madras, 1689-90; and after their return signs as one of the Council at Chatanati. On the first return home of Mr. Eyre in 1699 Mr. Beard succeeded to the agency of Bengal and at this time he had to deal with the troubles caused by Sir Edward Littleton's arrival and high pretensions as president of the New Company and Consul for the English nation, in which Mr. Beard acted "with much spirit and propriety." Eyre having been knighted was re-commissioned by the Court with the dignity of President in Bengal but gave up the trust and Mr. Beard succeeded very speedily to the old Company's Presidency. After the Union of the two Companies Mr. Beard assisted in settling up the affairs of the London Company though he considered the "rotary government" most absurd. This business finished he left for Madras on account of his health, where he arrived Feb. 2, 1705. Later in the year President Pitt in a letter to Sir George Matthews dated at Fort St. George sept. 5, 1705 said:

APPENDIX.

1

Beard, John Jr. was the son of John Beard, a
keeper of the East India Company's Surat Warehouse in
London. He was nominated a Writer on October 5, 1661 and
apparently accompanied his father to India on board the
"Defence" on his father's death the Council recommended the
Hull Council to appoint him to one of the Councils in
Bengal. He appears as one of the Bengal Council at the
time of their expulsion and return to Madras, 1689-90;
and after their return again as one of the Council at
Chattanani. On the first return home of Mr. Hyde in 1699
Mr. Beard succeeded to the agency of Bengal and at this
time he had to deal with the troubles caused by Sir
Edward Littleton's arrival and high pretensions as pres-
ident of the New Company and Council for the English nation,
in which Mr. Beard was "with much spirit and propriety."
Hyde having been knighted was re-commissioned by the Court
with the dignity of President in Bengal but gave up the post
and Mr. Beard succeeded very speedily to the old Com-
pany's presidency. After the Union of the two Companies
Mr. Beard assisted in settling up the affairs of the London
Company though he considered the "rotary government" most
aburd. His business finished he left for Madras on
account of his health, where he arrived Feb. 2, 1705.
Later in the year President Pitt in a letter to Sir George
Matthews dated at Port St. George sept. 8, 1705 said:

"P.S. Mr. Bearde came hither with his ffamily on the
"Chambers" ffriggtt and died the 7th of July last."

1

Gayer. Sir John was the son of Humphrey Gayer mer-
 chant of Plymouth, Devonshire. At an early age he entered
 the service of the East India Company and rose to be a
 sea-captain. On being appointed by the owners commander
 of the ship "Society" he was admitted into the freedom of
 the Company on April 7, 1682. On June 3, 1693, he was
 chosen Governor of the port and island of Bombay. In
 1693 when Sir John Goldsborough was appointed "General
 and Commander-in-chief, etc." Gayer (who had been knighted
 March 18,) was appointed on April 10 "Our Lieutenant
 General Governour of Bombay and Directoire -in-chief of all
 our affaires and ffactoryes... next under Sir John Golds-
 borough " whom he was to succeed in case of death. He
 went out in December, 1693 as Governor of Bombay and general
 reaching the Indian coast at Calcutta March 5, 1694 .
 Gayer's prolonged tenure of office was much troubled with
 the "interlopers" and the growth of the new Company. Con-
 stant disputes arose with Sir Nicholas Waite , the English
 Company's President and Co^{nsul} and Sir William Norris, the
 Ambassador. These troubles rose to such a point that Gayer
 with his wife and some of his council was arrested and
 confined to the Factory at Surat. This confinement with some
 temporary suspension endured for years. He was still a
 prisoner in 1709 when the companies had been amalgamated.

1. Hedges, Vol. 11, p CXXXVII - CLV.
 Dic. Nat. Biog. Vol. 21, p 93.



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He was certainly released by October 5, 1710. On that day he made his will in Bombay Castle and died there probably the following year.

1

Littleton. Sir Edward¹ was nominated a Factor of the East India Company on October 13, 1670. In 1679 he was Chief of the Kasimbazar Factory. Here, however, the unscrupulous dealings with the "interlopers" brought him under the displeasure of the Court and he was dismissed from the Company's service. On Sept. 7, 1698, however, he appears as one of the list of Directors of the new or English Company. In the following year he proceeded to Bengal as their President there and as consul under the grant of King William. Littleton was knighted before his departure Jan. 15, 1699. He arrived at Balasore in July 1699 and immediately came in contact with Mr. John Beard, the London Company's agent and later their President at Calcutta. When the Act of union was decreed Littleton was ordered to assist Mr. Beard in winding up the concerns of the two Companies; but his own business had been so carelessly managed that both his colleagues at Hugli and the Directors at home gradually got out of patience with him and in 1705 the order of the Court of the English Company for the dismissal of Sir Edward Littleton from the office of President of Bengal was received. On Oct. 24, 1707, he died "after five days illness of a fever" leaving no will. Accordingly the Council of the United Trade took his effects

1. Hedges, Vol. 11, p CCV - CCXXII.

into their charge according to directions given by the Court of Managers.

1

Norris. Sir William was the second son of Thomas Norris of Speke Hall . He succeeded his elder brother Thomas as member for Liverpool in 1695 and held the seat until 1701 being so much esteemed that he was re-elected during his absence in India but unseated on petition. In 1698 the English East India company obtained an Act of parliament and Letters Patent from the Crown for the purpose of trading to the East Indies and in order to obtain the necessary privileges from the Mughal Emperor Sir William Norris specially created a baronet for the occasion , was sent out to India as King's Commissioner in a ship of war at a salary of £2,000 per annum paid by the Company. Norris' task was from the first almost hopeless. He landed at Masulipatam on Sept. 25, 1699, from which after spending eleven months in fruitless quarrels with Consul Pitt and the officers of the rival Company he sailed for Surat on Aug. 23, 1700 and reached Swally on Dec. 10. Here fresh difficulties arose partly owing to the intemperate conduct of the English Company's Consul and president at Surat, Sir Nicholas Waite. On Jan. 27, 1701, the Ambassador set out for Surat on his journey to the Mughal's camp and arrived at Pawanee near which the camp was situated on April 4. On April 28, he was granted an audience to which he went with a state procession . At first his negotiations seemed to be successful but owing to the unauthorized interference of



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Sir Nicholas Waite previously to the Ambassador's arrival, troubles arose which finally ended in Sir William Norris demanding his passports and leaving the Mughal's Camp . After being detained several times on various pretexts he finally reached Surat on March 12 . On May 12, he sailed for England in the "Scipio" paying 10,000 rupees for his passage. When the ship arrived at St. Helena it was ascertained that Norris had been attacked with dysentery and had died at sea.

¹
Pitt. John was one of the sons of Edward Pitt of Stratfieldsaye. He was a cousin of Thomas Pitt, the Governor of Madras. He had been in the India Company's service at Ft. St. George but had quitted it and had become an "interloper". On the establishment of the English Company, however, he arrived in India as President of the English Company on the Coast of the Coromandel and Consul for the English nation. He made Masulipatam his residence and here he immediately came in contact with his kinsmen Thomas Pitt not altogether to his own advantage. On the arrival of the ambassador Sir William Norris, further troubles arose and Norris finally left Masulipatam after preferring charges against Consul Pitt for hindering the progress of his Embassy. After the Act of Union he ceased his open opposition to President Pitt but affairs on the Coast were much simplified by his death on May 8, 1703. At Durrumpat "whither he went contrary to all Sense and

1. Hedges, Vol. III, p XL-XLIX., LIII to LXI and LXXXII.



Reason to look for the wreck of the 'Norris' ."

1.

Pitt, Thomas was the second son of John Pitt, Rector of Blandford St. Mary. In his youth he was a sea-captain and even before he was twenty-one he was engaged in the East India Trade as an "Interloper" being settled at Ballasor. The Court of the East India Company recognized Pitt's capacity and Nov. 26, 1697 he was appointed President of Ft. St. George. Pitt arrived in Madras on July 7, 1698, but scarcely had he established himself there when he was obliged to meet the opposition of the new English Company represented by his cousin Thomas Pitt. He pursued him with the utmost rancor until his death in 1703, denouncing him as crack brained and inexperienced. When Sir William Norris the new company's envoy to Aurangzeb landed at Masulipatam he refused to recognize him. On the Union of the two Companies in 1702 Pitt was continued in the Presidency of the united Company at Ft. St. George, whose settlements he fearlessly defended from native attacks. In 1704, Sir William Fraser was appointed a member of his council and certain disputes arising the court decided on Jan. 8, 1709, to remove Pitt and reinstate Fraser whom Pitt had suspended. Accordingly he left Madras on the "Heathcote" about Oct. 25, with considerable wealth and a valuable diamond, later the celebrated "Pitt Diamond".

Pitt reached England in 1711 and settled there and began to consolidate his property. He was elected to Parliament for



Old Salem . On Aug. 3, 1716, he accepted the government of Jamaica and vacated his seat . But he never assumed office and he resigned in favor of another. Pitt died at Swallowfield in Berkshire on April 28, 1726 and was buried at Blandford St. Mary's.

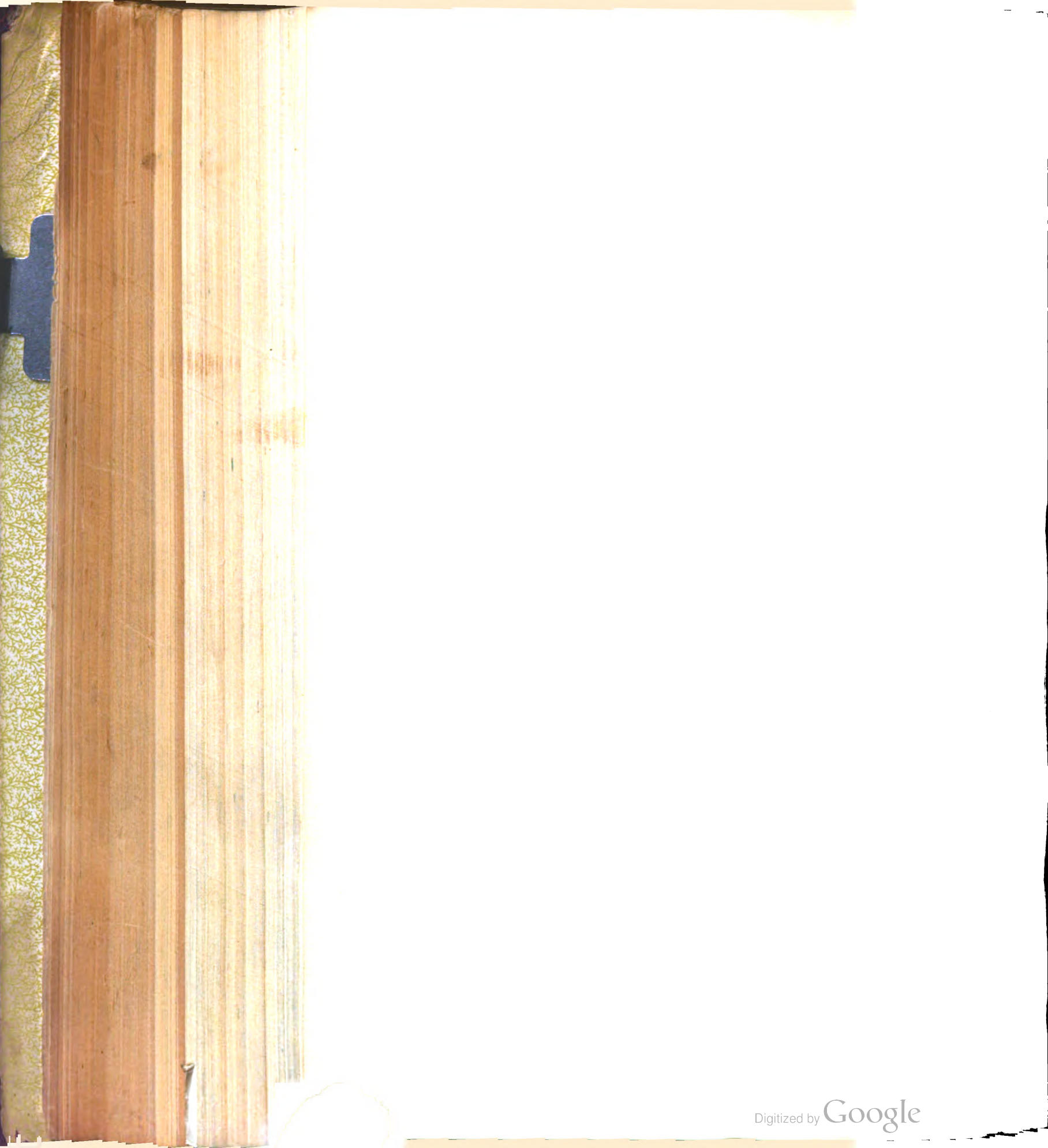
Waite. Sir Nicholas. ¹ was a dismissed servant of the London Company. On the establishment of the English company he was made President for Surat and Consul for the English Nation being knighted for the occasion. He arrived at Surat Jan. 11, 1700 on the ship "Montague". Here he immediately came in contact with the servants of the London company by his intemperate proceedings and even caused the imprisonment of Sir John Gayer the General of the London Company at Bombay . He prevailed upon the Ambassador to come to Surat from Masulipatam and make his way thence to the Moghal's camp. But subsequent events caused quarrels between Norris and Waite who, on the failure of the Embassy, parted on most unfriendly terms. With the Act of Union came orders for a cessation of hostilities against the London Company but Sir Nicholas Waite disobeyed positive orders and succeeded in making himself General of the United Companies. In 1708, however, he was dismissed from the service of the Company.

1. Note. It has been impossible to obtain further facts with regard to the life of Sir Nicholas Waite as the Dictionary of National Biography has not yet reached the letter W. The above facts are taken from Bruce.



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1st Copy



THE QUARREL BETWEEN DUPLEIX AND LA BOURDONNAIS

T H E S I S

PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
BACHELOR OF PHILOSOPHY

-BY-

James H. Cannon jr.

C O R N E L L U N I V E R S I T Y

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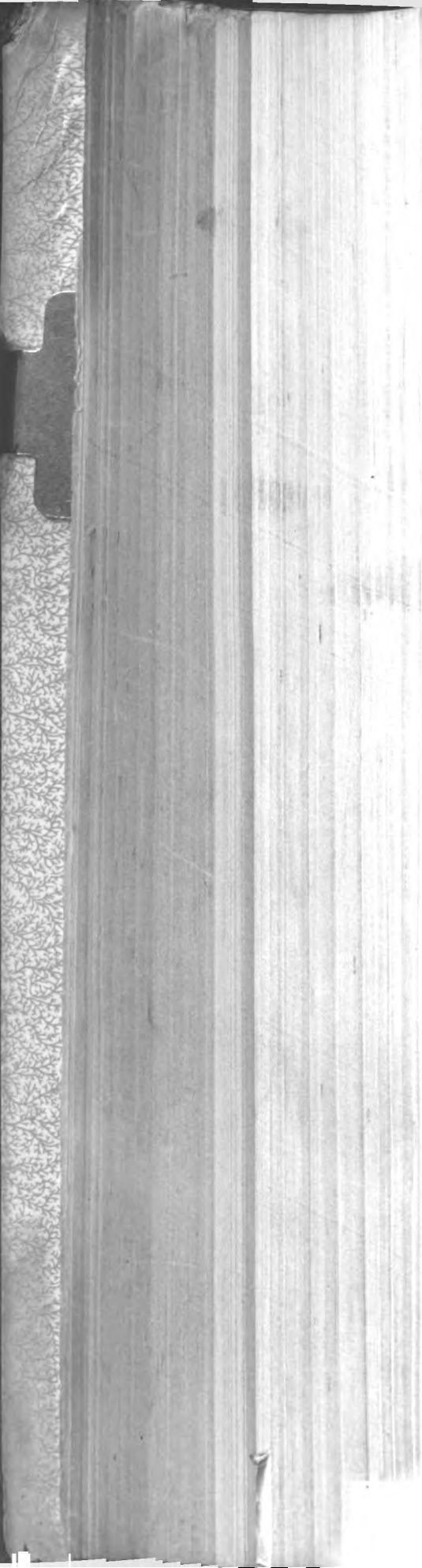
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CHAPTER I

EARLY FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN ASIA

General View

Until the year 1604 there was no organized attempt to build up a French power in Asia. Before this time many private voyages had been undertaken and in some instances considerable success had attended them ; as those of Pierre Vaupeppe, a Rouen merchant, who had seventeen ships trading to the Indes in 1600. At least two kings of France, Francis 1st and Henry 3d, had urged their subjects to trade into the Indes, but, as said, up to 1604 there had been no organized attempt at either trade or conquest. In that year, however, Henry 4th, "Avec son esprit superieur" believing that the successes of the Dutch in Europe were due to their profitable colonies in the Indes, resolved that France too should possess colonies there. A company was organized under his patronage, in June, 1604, and the monopoly of Indian trade was given it for the period of fifteen years. This company

was important only through its failure, which soon occurred, due to a lack both of harmony and funds ; important because its charter was given to a number of Rouen merchants.

These formed themselves into a company, known as the "Company of the Moluques." Ships were immediately sent out for cargoes. The enterprise was a profitable one, and the route to the Indies became well known.

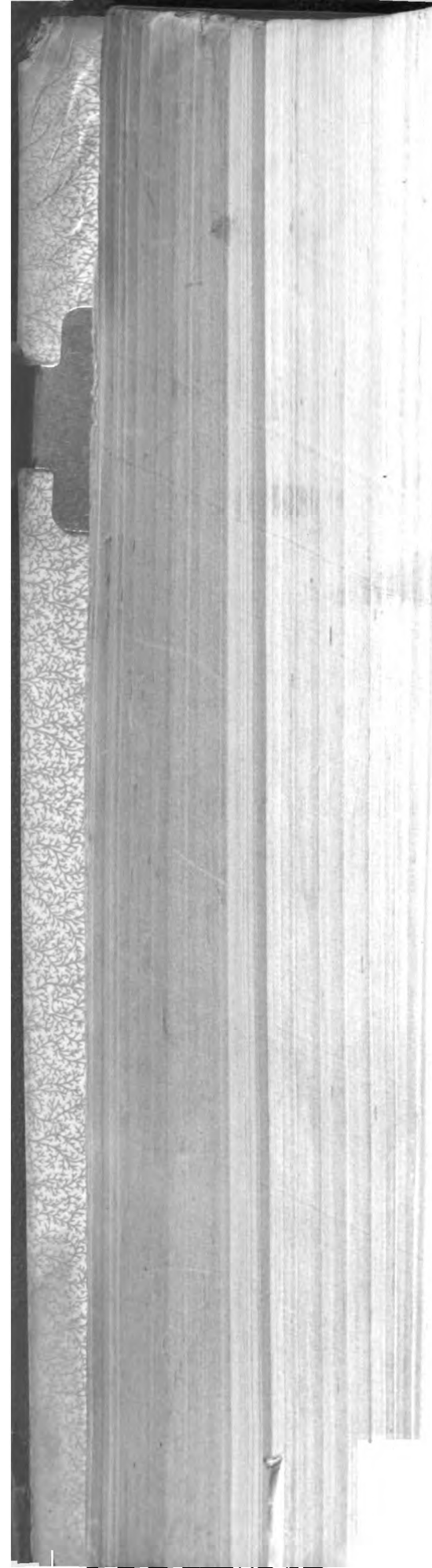
Colonial development was slow and the reason lay chiefly in the fact that France was torn and weakened by internal descensions. Nevertheless, in 1642, under the patronage of the all-powerful Richelieu, a new company was formed and granted the monopoly for twenty years. It was in connection with this company that Madagascar first came into notice. It was decided to make of the Island a "Point d'appui" for the company's ships. Colonists were sent there and preparations made for establishing there a large station for provisioning ships and as a place of refuge in the event of war. Thus the first regular French settlement in the East began. Owing to the bad government of Pronis, the Company's agent, the colonists soon came to grief. He angered alike the natives and colonists. Things came to such a pass that Flacourt was sent to succeed him. Flacourt, by his

leniently and wise measures, endeared himself to all and the colony prospered. From the time of his death (he was killed by Algerian pirates while returning from a voyage to France) the history of Madagascar, until Colbert's advent, was one of fierce struggles with the natives.

7 With the advent of Colbert commerce with India took a new lease of life. The brilliant success of the Dutch Company had fascinated the French. A company was formed after the English model. Colbert strove to awaken national interest in this new company. He had the "Academician" Charpentier draw up an appeal to the people and the Administration promised its protection and co-operation. Louis XIV declared that a noble did not lose his privileges by taking part in the Indian trade. A monopoly of fifty years was granted to the new Company, and the government promised to re-imburse it for its losses of the first ten years. Three million livres were advanced by the Treasury. Thus, in 1664, the "Company of the Indies" was formed. It made the same mistake that its predecessor had made in attempting to place a colony at Madagascar. A large number of colonists were sent to the island, but the natives exterminated them so rapidly that the idea of a colony was abandoned. Of the

colonists who survived, some established themselves on the islands later known as France and Bourbon, while a few went to India. At the same time that the company had attempted to colonize Madagascar, it had also sent an expedition to Surat on the northern and western coast of India, in charge of Francis Caron, and a factory was established there in 1609. This was the first French factory in India proper. Soon after this an American servant of the Company, Marcara, was sent to the court of the King of Colconda, and on the 9th of December, 1609, he obtained a firman for the founding of a factory at Masulipatan. Caron had also formed the idea that a colony on the island of Ceylon was to be desired, and Colbert in compliance with this idea sent out the first French fleet to appear in Indian waters. This fleet under Admiral De La Haye left France in 1670. He took, in accordance with the scheme of Caron, Trinkemali but was soon forced to yield it to the Dutch. Yet the fleet accomplished one thing of importance, and that was the capture of St. Thome', on the twenty-fifth of July, 1672. It is worthy of note that in these two expeditions Francis Martin took an important part.

When, in 1674, St. Thome' was re-taken by the Dutch,



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Martin led a little band of followers to the territory purchased, in 1673, of the Governor of Tanjur and the Carnatic, Sher Khan Lodi. This parcel of land was located in the province of Jinji, near a river of the same name. The native name of the little village was Philcheru, but it has ever been known to Europeans as Pondichery. Martin made judicious alliances with the natives, -especially with Sher Khan Lodi, the Governor of Visapour, to whom he loaned a large sum of money. This was the beginning of the French policy of making fast friends with the native Princes, which later stood them in such good stead. As soon as the factory was in operation many of the native weavers settled in Pondichery and Martin encouraged them to do so. The colony flourished so that in two years after its founding the magazines of the Company contained goods worth two million livres. Martin also took pains to raise up about him a body of native troops drilled in the European fashion, this was the beginning of another tradition.

When Pondichery was threatened by Sivaji, in 1676, Martin appeases him by flattery and presents. Shortly after this, without offending him, Martin asked the repayment of the loan of Sher Khan Lodi. Sher Khan was unable to repay

it and instead, granted to Martin the revenues of the lands about Pondichery, and an absolute concession of Pondichery itself. This also, as in the case of the arming of native troops, became a tradition. An equally important concession was the one to fortify the city. It is worthy of notice that while engaged in building magazines, storehouses, etc., and fortifying the city, Martin not only received no help from the Company, but was even paying the debts of the Company at Surat. This was a politic move as it served to establish French credit on a stable basis. Although no ships had been sent out by the Company, or rather built by the Company, from 1675 to 1684, Martin was not discouraged. He won his way to the good graces of the King of Golconda, and secured permission both to re-establish the factory at Masulipatam and to found a new one at Chandernagor. This latter became very important under the guidance of Duploix. Agencies were at this time placed at both Bahar and Orissa.

In 1688 Europe was in arms against Louis 14th. The Dutch thought the opportunity an excellent one to complete the work begun at St. Thome'. Their project was delayed for a moment by the appearance of a French fleet of six vessels under Duquesne-Guitton. The manœuvres of this fleet were

peculiar. It appeared in the harbor of Pondichery for a few days and going to Madras (as Des Fosses says) "Pour echanger quelques coup de canon avec la flotte Hollandaise," on the 25th of August, 1690, disappeared. As soon as this was over the Dutch again took up the project of an attack on Pondichery. The Maratha chief, Ram Paja, although he had promised to protect Martin, changed his attitude, and Martin was left to his own resources. He made the best possible arrangements, but as there was no possible succour, it was only a question of time. The siege began on the 23d of August, 1693, and on the 6th of September, a capitulation was signed. The Dutch took possession of Pondichery and Martin was sent to Batavia. However, in 1697, by the "Peace of Ryswick" Pondichery was restored to France on the payment of a large sum. The Company, at this time, was in dismal straits. The importation of certain Indian commodities had lowered the prices of home goods, so that at Lyons alone over 9000 men had been thrown out of employment. This caused a measure to be passed forbidding the importation of calico and restricting that of silks at all. Needless to say, this hurt the Company immensely. In 1697 the Company was indebted to the amount of 11,000,000 livres. Its monopoly was of no use to



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it so it was sold. Thus the famous company which was to control the Orient had left only its agencies in Hindoostan, the factories in Surat and Pondichery, and the agencies in Bengal.

In 1698, Martin had returned to India with four vessels of war and some of the Company's ships. He arrived at Pondichery in May, 1699, and began at once to put it in a better state of defence. He built a palace for the Governor and commenced the construction of bazars and shops. His liberal policy in all matters, and especially in religion, attracted many of the native weavers and merchants to Pondichery, and, in 1701, it became the capital of the French in India. The sovereign council was transferred there as well as all the administrative officers. Martin was named Governor General with supreme authority.

It was at this time that the French began the system of internal trade that was brought to its height in the time of Dupleix. Martin extended the bounds of trade. He founded a factory at Calicut. He reestablished the one at Surat and communication was opened with Persia. The war of the Spanish Succession breaking out in Europe, French India was forced again to take care of itself. Martin made a truce with

the Dutch and thus secured the tranquility of Pondichery. If only the money had been forthcoming a splendid internal commerce might have been built up. There was one joy reserved for Martin before his death. The citadel which had been building since 1701 was finished in 1706, and the old patriot could now sleep content, the capital of French India was founded. Martin survived his triumph but a short time dying in December, 1706. Martin was next to Duploix, the strongest figure in French Indian History.

The two immediate successors of Martin, Dulliver and Herbert, hurt the prosperity of the growing City by their vanity and incapability. But still the city prospered. While all the other establishments of the company were at extremes Pondichery flourished. When the monopoly of the Company expired in 1715 it was renewed for ten years, the Crown to have ten percent of the Prizes taken south of the line.

Meantime events had been occurring in the other possessions of the Company in Indo China. In 1680 a treaty had been made with the King of Siam, and in 1684 through the aid of French missionaries at Tonkin, a factory was established in the Province of Midi. The King of Siam sent an ambassador to France ; he was entertained sumptuously and Bangkok

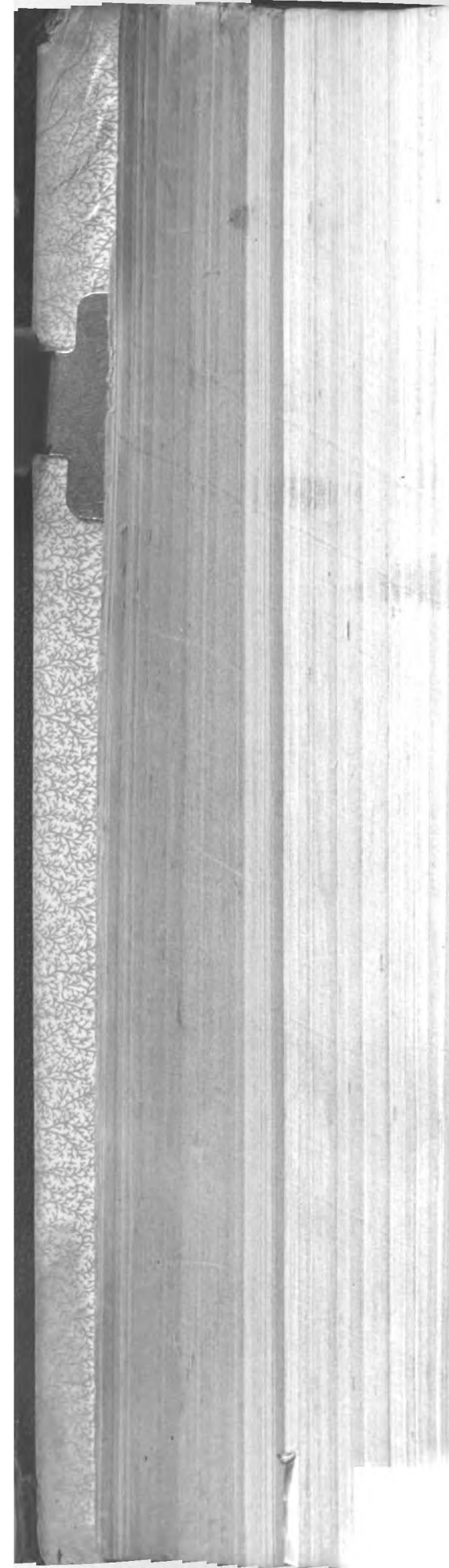
and Mergui were ceded to the French. Everything seemed to point to a happy future but the Siamese priests became jealous of the influence of the missionaries and a strife broke out between them. As a result the French were compelled to leave Bangkok and Mergui.

The Red Sea had also drawn the Company's attention. Ships had been sent each year to the great fair held at Moka and traffic was begun between Arabia and France. A factory had been placed at Bender Abassi. With the help of the missionaries and the good will of the people, the Persian Branch was prosperous.

The monopoly in China had been given to a separate company with the understanding that they should pay 15% of their imports to the parent company. A vessel was sent to Canton in 1700, and it returned with a rich cargo of teas and silks. From 1700 to 1710 fourteen vessels were sent to Canton and Hankin and each voyage was profitable. But the importations coming into conflict with those of home make, they were either forbidden or curtailed, so that there was no further profit to be made. The trouble was accentuated by the dishonesty of some of the directors. Thus reduced in resources the Company only vegetated until the advent of law.

Madagascar had all this time remained profitless. The same was true of the island of Bourbon. The first capable Governor was Florimont. Father Bernadin succeeded him and under his administration the resources of Bourbon increased rapidly. Cotton was grown, sugar, rice, maize and spices, and all the European vegetables, as well as those of the tropics, could be grown there. The island was called "the Garden of Eden." Another Governor, De Villier, deserves notice. He built up the internal resources of the island and established schools. After him De Parat constituted the judicial and the administrative systems. The judgment of the island court was final as to the natives, but the Europeans could appeal to the court at Pondichery. This is the most important point to notice. It will serve to throw light on the relative positions of Dupleix and Labourdonnais at the time of their trouble. Under De Parat, as said, the island became important. The coffee plant was introduced and a closer connection with the outside world was the result.

This is not the place to speak of Law and his dazzling financial schemes. He at least deserves gratitude for the great impetus he gave to the Indian trade. It is through



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this that he is connected with India. After the bursting of the great bubble Law had instituted, the Company again separated itself from the bank and a new scheme was devised. "The Perpetual Company of the Indies" was organized with twelve directors, each being placed over a separate department. The success of this systematized management of the Company's affairs could be expected.

While Law's operations were amazing France and Europe, India was not neglected. In 1720 Hebert had been recalled and Prevostiere made Governor. He accomplished two important things, providing for the maintenance of the garrison and repairing the fortifications. In 1721 Prevostiere died and Lenoir was made Governor General. Lenoir adopted a policy which preserved Pondichery at Law's downfall. He employed the money sent him during Law's regime in paying the old debts of the Company. When the crash came, the credit of Pondichery with the natives was secure. In this same year Pondichery was nearly destroyed by a storm and only the energy of Lenoir averted total destruction. As a recompense for his untiring activity in their affairs, the Company accused him of intrigue. Dupleix was at this time a member of Lenoir's council. From 1723 to 1723 only three

ships a year were sent out by the Company, but the situation soon brightened and activity was renewed. Traffic was opened with Moka and the Phillipines. A factory was founded at Canton, Masulipatan grew in importance, the coast trade flourished, and as Des Fosses says, "Le pavillion Francais se montrait depuis la mer Rouge jusqu'a Manille."

A small agency had been established at Mahe on the Malabar coast. The English viewed it with concern and incited the natives to attack it. They did so, and in 1725, a French fleet captured it, and a large pepper and spice trade was built up there. Labouonnais was one of the officers in this attack. Lenoir returned from France after his vindication and was Governor until 1735. This was a happy period for French interests in India. The exports increased from practically nothing to 6,000,000 livres in 1731. Pondichery, improved and embellished, became a city of 80,000 people. Chandernagor was not yet of great importance, but the pepper trade at Mahe was rapidly making of it a rich agency. There were besides factories at Masulipatan and Moka which were very important. The factory at Surat had been abandoned. Those of Calicut and Balassar replaced. French influence began to expand. Pondichery became the

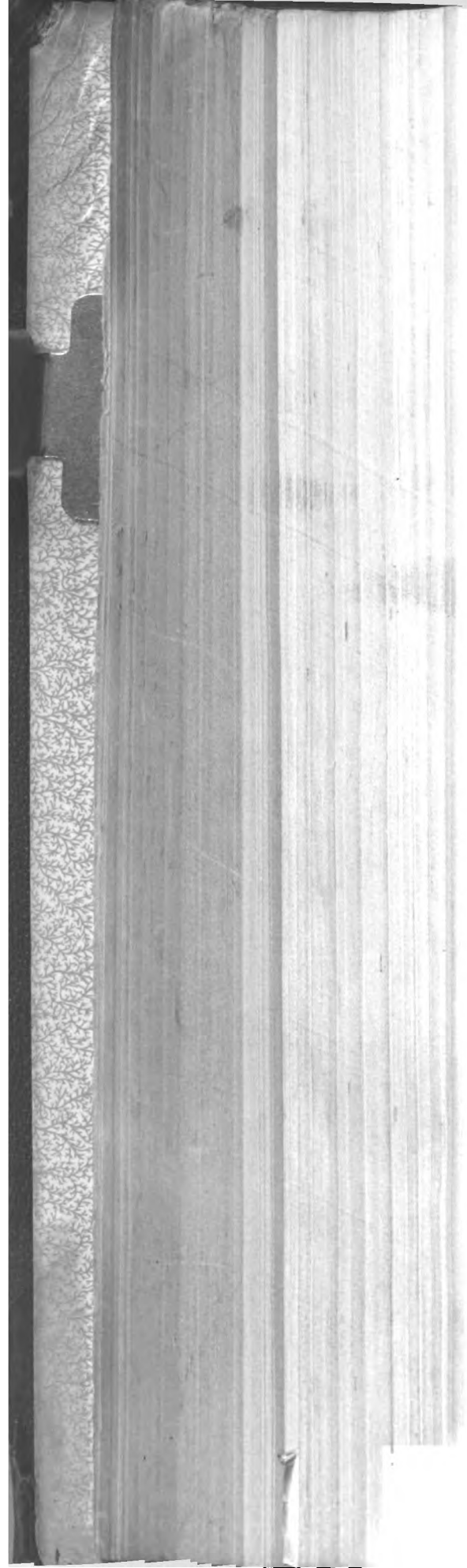


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depot of the Indo China, Manilla, Phillipine, Bengal, Persian and Canton trade. The coast trade became very profitable.

The simple idea of gaining wealth by securing cargoes began to give place to the idea of Empire. The island of France, abandoned by the Dutch, was taken by Dufresne in 1715. In 1721, Lyon was made Governor. The history of the island was not very brilliant until La Fourdonnais became Governor, in 1725. He built the islands of France and Bourbon up into two of the most flourishing of the Company's possessions. He moved the seat of government from Bourbon to the island of France and built Port Louis, and added to it warehouses, docks, magazines, etc. Through the jealousy of those about him he was called to France to vindicate his acts. This he easily did and returned again to his government.

In 1735, Dumas, who had been Governor of the islands of France and Bourbon, succeeded Lenoir as Governor General of the French settlements in India with his capital at Pondichery. It is worthy of note that Dumas passed from the government of the islands to that of Pondichery, as it proves to some extent that Pondichery was the more important



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of the two and that Pondichery had precedence over the Isles. Dumas was a man well versed in Indian affairs and the benefits of this knowledge was shown in the ties of friendship which he so skilfully cemented between his government and the native Princes, especially as regarded Chanda Sahib and Dost Ali Khan. When the two were in extremities during the Maratha raid, Dumas received their relatives within the walls of Pondichery and refused to give them over to the Raghuji Bhonsla. Dost Ali was killed but Chanda Sahib proved his gratitude later in many ways. The great Mogul was so pleased at this exhibition of courage against his enemies that he gave to Dumas the title of Nawab and the right to confer it on his successor also. This added immensely to the French prestige.

In 1741, and this was a sign of the growing nationalism of the French in India. Labourdonnais brought a fleet from the island of France to the assistance of Dumas in his trouble with the Marathas. The fleet came too late to be of any assistance, but on its return to the islands, it visited a severe punishment on the rebellious natives at Mahe. At the moment Labourdonnais was engaged in doing this, Dumas had asked to be recalled and had named as his successor,



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Dupleix, Des Fosses says, "At the departure of Dumas, the French in India were definitely established. With Martin, the French had built the capital at Pondichery, Lenoir had created their credit and extended their relations, and under his administration they had become a commercial power. With Dumas they had made an immense stride, France had taken a place among the Indian powers."

CHAPTER II

DUPLEIX, HIS EARLY CAREER AND POSITION
AS GOVERNOR OF PONDICHERY

Joseph-Francis Dupleix was born at Landrecies, in the Province of French-Flanders, in the year 1697. His father was a wealthy farmer general and a director of the Company of the Indies. The father had determined to make of the boy a finished merchant. He therefore surrounded him with every influence which should tend to accustom him to merchantile ideas. Dupleix, however, did not respond to these influences, but exhibited a passion for poetry, music and art. He also became an adept in the science of fortifications. The father became angry with him for the likings he exhibited and decided to try and break them by a sea voyage. In 1715, he sent young Dupleix to sea on one of the India Company's ships. He made several trips to America and India. On these voyages with his active mind he acquired a valuable knowledge of the marine and of commerce. In 1720, his father obtained for him the position of member of the



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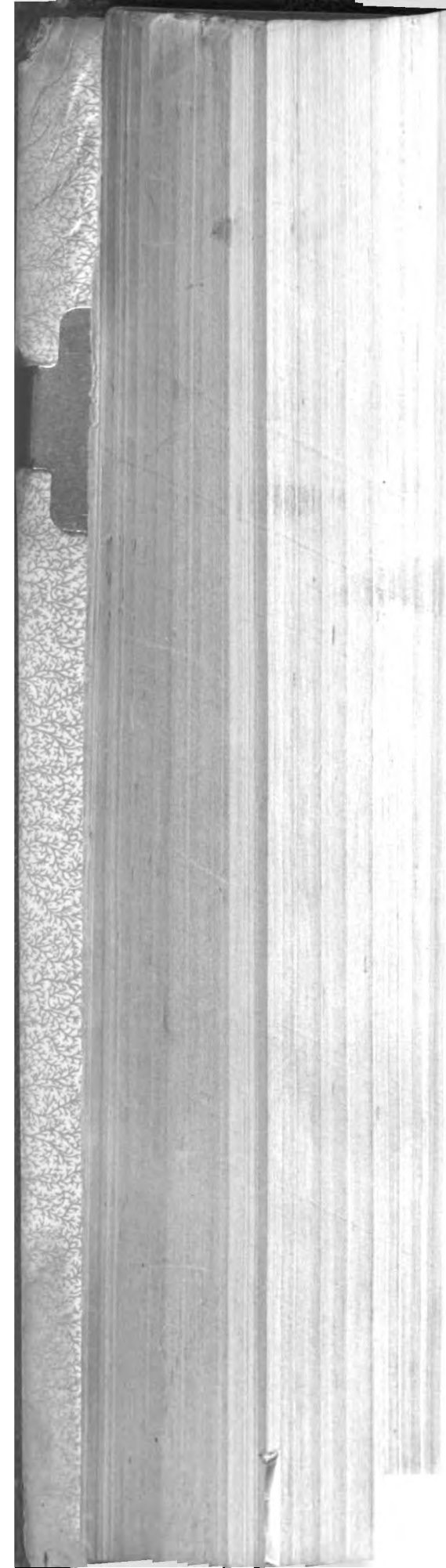
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superior council and commissioner of wars." It was a pompous title with a small salary. At the arrival of Dupleix in Pondichery, Lenoir, who was Governor, saw the worth of the man and became his sponsor. Lenoir placed in his hands the register of the council, thus affording him the means of learning at once the affairs of the Company. But Lenoir did more than that, he gave the young beginner the benefit of his long experience. Thus the young commissary learned the strong and weak points of the Company's system.

For four years, owing to political reasons, Dupleix was not a member of the council. He employed this time in the further study of the political system of the Mogul Empire. He was already dreaming of conquest. On the 30th of August, the government of Chandernagor was given to him, and his real career began. Chandernagor was a factory which at this time was wanting in everything but indolence, as Dupleix says. He began the task of ending this state of things. By his own example, he built up an internal trade with the Indian merchants. He fitted out ships of his own to trade with China, Persia, Japan and Arabia. The success with which he met encouraged others to venture also, and the result was that within ten years, in place of four or five, there were



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seventy-two ships which owned Chandernagor as their port!

In 1741, Dupleix married a French lady who had been born in India and her knowledge of the country and the people was an important factor in his later successes. The revival of trade at Chandernagor had created so favorable an impression of Dupleix that when Dumas resigned, he was named as his successor. Dupleix saw that the Mogul Empire was upon its last legs, and that the real mastery of India would lie in French hands if only the right steps were taken. But before this was possible the English were to be dealt with. A conflict was inevitable and Dupleix determined to strike the first blow. His first step was to take upon himself the title of Nawab, which had been conferred upon Dumas with the right of succession, by the Mogul Emperor. This Dupleix did with all the pomp and splendor so necessary to awe and win over the native mind. Dupleix was now in the position to treat with the native princes as an equal. He began a series of measures with the idea of strengthening Pondichery. He reduced the expenses and supervised the work of the officials very closely. Dupleix then turned his attention to the personnel of his troops, perfecting the system of drilling the native troops and raising the morals of the Europeans.



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He saw that, as it stood, Pondichery was practically defenseless and therefore he began to strengthen the fortifications. He became at the same time both the banker and engineer of the work.

Soon after Dupleix had paid the expenses of the war of Maho, and was pushing the work on the fortifications to a rapid finish, he received, 1743, instructions from the directors to cut down expenses and cease the work of fortifying, and yet at the same time telling him of the imminence of war with England. He deliberately disobeyed these orders as far as the fortifications were concerned and went on with the work, preferring the wrath of the directors to the risk of leaving Pondichery defenceless. It was only a little later that he received news that the war had broken out and that he was to try and arrange a treaty of neutrality with Mr. Morse, the English Governor at Madras. He wrote Mr. Morse at Madras, but he received an answer stating that the English home Governor had instructed him, Mr. Morse, to consider the French as enemies. Dupleix was in a sad position. His fortifications were incomplete. He had but one ship, only four hundred and thirty-six Europeans, and to cap the climax, the crops had failed entirely. Time must be gained

somehow. Dupleix wrote to Anivardi Khan, reminding him of the protection Dumas had given his relatives within the walls of Pondichery when they were threatened by the Marathas, and urged upon him that the French were peaceable traders who desired anything but war. He demanded that the English be kept from attacking Pondichery. He also reminded Anivardi Khan that he, Dupliex, was desirous of peace and had made overtures to the English, but that they had been rejected. But more than all this was not Dupleix a brother Nawab ? And he was to be molested by these foreign English. Anivardi Khan accepted this view of the question and forbade the English to attack the French. The same obligation was placed upon the French as regarded the English. The English then in their infancy in India, accepted the dictates of the Nawab and Pondichery was saved at least for the time being. Dupleix breathed free again and all he prayed for was the arrival of troops and a fleet. He sent his only vessel to the Isle of France to pray Labourdonnais to come to his aid with a fleet and meanwhile he awaited its arrival with feverish anxiety.

The position of Dupleix as Governor of Pondichery was the highest in the political hierarchy of India. He was a



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kind of Viceroy, executing on his own responsibility, the instructions of the directors, who were named by the stockholders. Meantime he held powers very extended for the preservation of the fortresses and establishments of the colony. Duploix had also the command of the military forces. He presided over the council of five members. The whole administrative machinery reposed in his hands. Justice was rendered in the name of the King, and the laws were also enforced in the same way. The councilors and the Governor were the employees of the Company who could replace them without referring to the sovereign. The King confirmed the powers of the Governor. Gave him so to say a sort of investiture. The other factories and agencies had been modeled on Pondichery. So that Chandernagor, Mahe, Calicut and Karikal had their Governors and councils bit entirely subordinated to that of Pondichery. It is a question whether the same was true of the Isles of France and Bourbon.



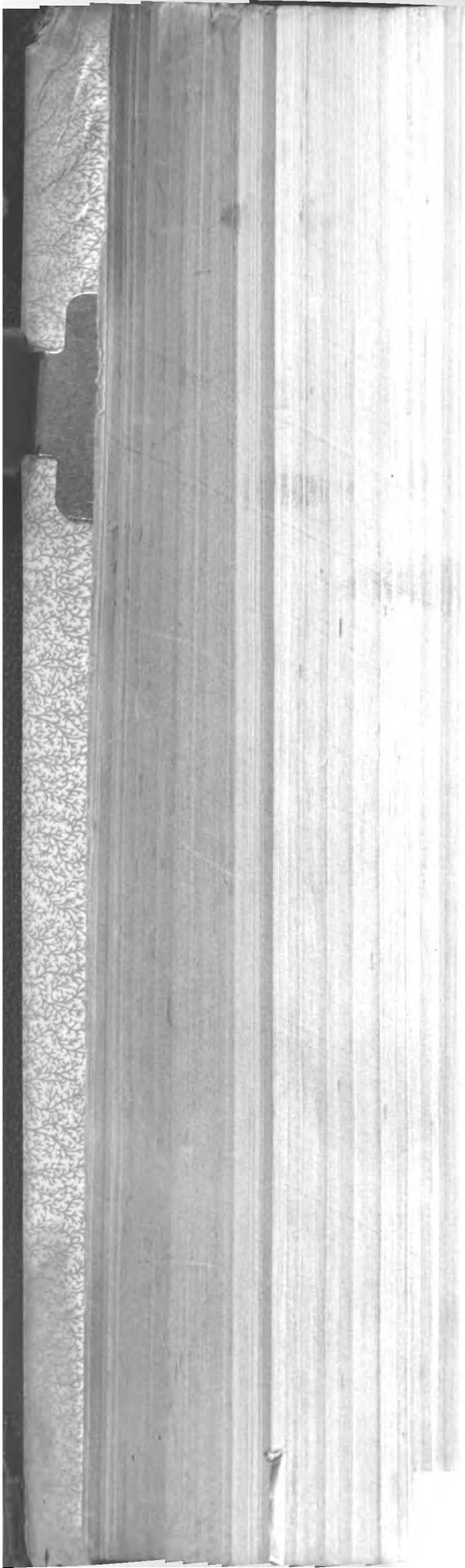
CHAPTER III

LA BOURDONNAIS

His Early Career and Position

As Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon

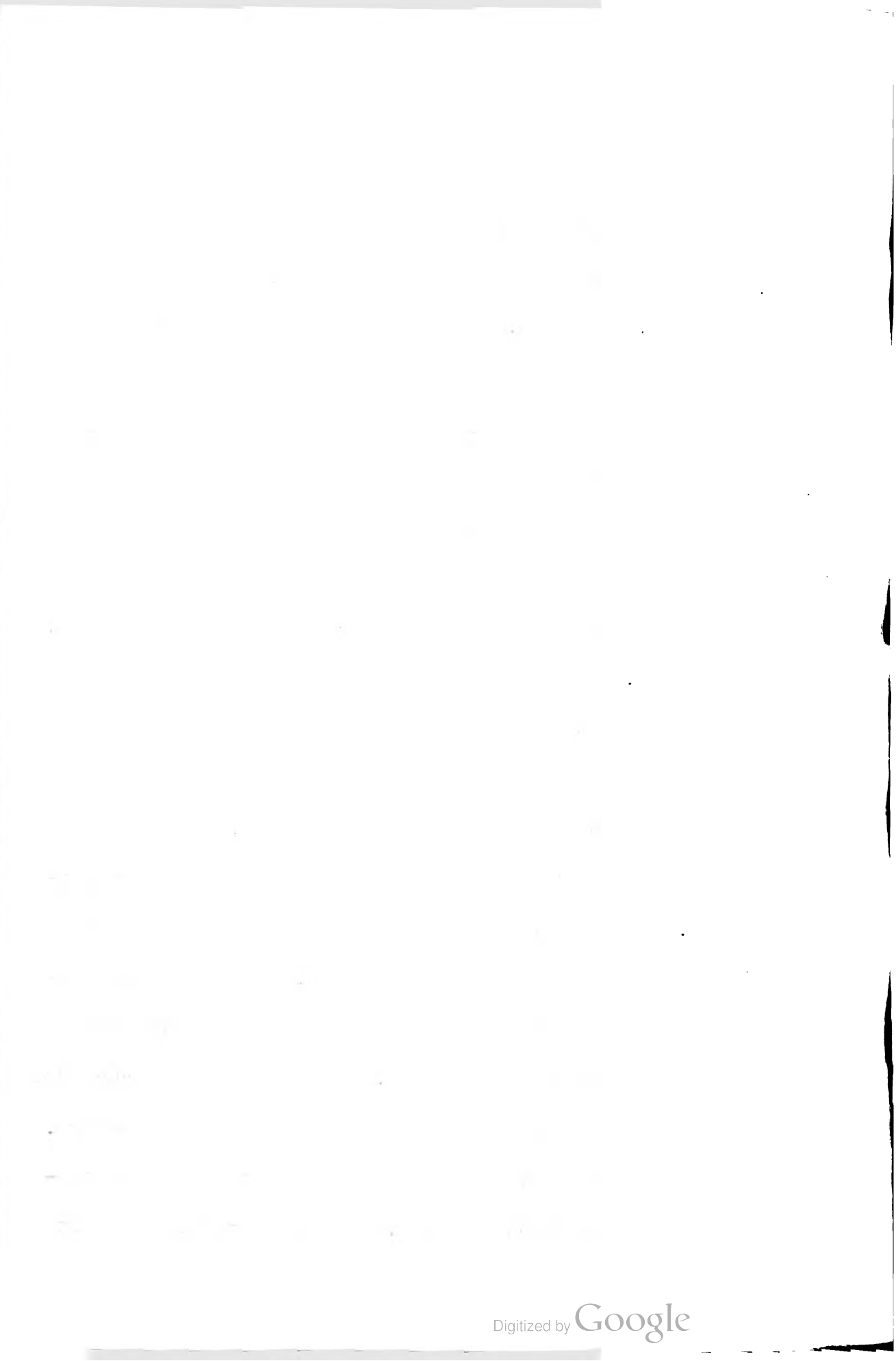
Bertrand Francois Mahe de la Bourdonnais was born at St. Malo, in the year 1699, and was therefore two years younger than Dupleix. His family was of good position and fairly wealthy. From his infancy Labourdonnais had a taste for the sea and was not more than ten years of age when he made his first voyage to the southern seas. This voyage decided the calling of his life. In 1713 he sailed as ensign for the Indies. It was on this voyage that he learned the mathematical sciences from a Jesuit priest who was on the vessel. On another voyage, 1724, he learned the art of fortification from a French engineer who sailed out to the Indies on the same ship. It was on this voyage that, entering the harbor of Pondichery, he found the French fleet preparing to sail against Mahe. He joined the expedition and won a great deal of praise for his conduct during the siege of that place.



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Labourdonnais then turned his attention to commerce and becoming very wealthy, after serving under the Portuguese flag for a time, returned to France and married. While on a visit to Paris, he met M. Orry, the minister of finance, and the latter was much impressed by Labourdonnais's thorough knowledge of Indian matters. A short time after this M. Orry offered Labourdonnais the position of Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, and Labourdonnais accepted the offer. In the early part of the year 1735, Labourdonnais left France and arrived at Bourbon in June of the same year. Up to this time, Dumas had been the most capable Governor the Islands had had.

The islands of France and Bourbon had been discovered by the Portuguese in their earliest explorations. They had found them uninhabited and had not attempted to found colonies on them. In 1640, the Dutch had held for a short time the Isle of France but soon abandoned it. The islands were still deserted when taken possession of by the French and given to the Company of the Indies. The Isle of Bourbon had no good port and was given up to the cultivation of coffee. The Isle of France had two ports, but on account of the prevailing winds of the Indian Ocean, the only practicable one



was the port St. Louis or simply Port Louis. The importance of the islands lay in the fact that they could be made the point d'appui of vessels plying between France and India.

At the time of the arrival of Labourdonnais, the condition of affairs in the islands was anything but pleasant. The inhabitants were composed of those who had escaped from the massacre of Madagascar, abandoned sailors, a few workmen of the Company and several European families. Discipline and subordination were unknown. Too indolent to support themselves, they had been a source of constant expense to the Company, and the Company had informed Labourdonnais that this state of things must cease. That he must see that they not only raised enough for their own wants, but that they must also be prepared to provision any of the Company's ships that might need it. The affairs of administration were in an equally bad state. There were two councils, the one on the Isle of Bourbon, the other on the Isle of France. Labourdonnais concentrated the government on the Isle of France. He managed the affairs of justice so well that in the eleven years he was there, only one case came to trial. By arming blacks against blacks, the disorderly maroons were subjugated and at the same time, a police force was established. As for

commerce, La Bourdonnais introduced the cultivation and refining of sugar, which soon yielded the Company a profit of more than 60,000 livres. He also established cotton and indigo factories. In agriculture this versatile man, introduced the cultivation of the manioc, from Brazil. This was a kind of nut, the grains of which could be made into a flour which was made into a sort of bread.

The next task undertaken by La Bourdonnais was the improvement and fortification of the Port. The improvements consisted in the building of cantonments, arsenals, canals, bridges and wharves. There were neither roads nor horses on the islands but he met all the difficulties and overcame them. In his desire to make the islands the entrepot of the commerce of the Company, La Bourdonnais constructed large quays and docks, in which the vessels of the Company might be received and repaired as easily as at L'Orient in France. So well did he do his work that in 1738, he built two small vessels, and had on the stocks a vessel of five hundred tons.

A man of La Bourdonnais' type was sure to make many enemies, and, in 1740, when he returned to France upon the death of his wife, he found himself in great disfavor. By

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his clear and favorable report of his steps at Port Louis, he won his way again into favor and was again sent to the islands with the additional title of Commander of the naval forces in the Indian Seas. This was in 1741. He received word of the threatening on Pondichery by the Marathas, and set out for that port at once. M. Dumas had, however, as was seen in a previous chapter, saved the city by his diplomacy, and the assistance of La Bourdonnais was not needed. On his return to the islands, as has also been seen, La Bourdonnais defeated the natives who were besieging Mahe.

La Bourdonnais returned to the island of France. It was but a short time after his arrival there that he received orders to send back to France the fleet which he had brought out with him. He obeyed his orders and was left with but a single ship to face the impending war with England. It was at this moment that he received the appeal of Duplex, begging him to come to the rescue of Pondichery. Deprived of his ships and his trained soldiers, the outlook was dark.



CHAPTER IV

La Bourdonnais had hardly dispatched the fleet with which he had taken Mahe, for France, when he received a letter from Orry who was acting in the place of the dying Fleury, hoping that he had disobeyed the orders and retained the fleet. La Bourdonnais, discouraged with the prospects and worn out by his struggles with adverse circumstances, sent his resignation to the minister. Orry refused to accept it and wrote that he desired La Bourdonnais to remain in the East to cope with the troubled times which were already appearing. La Bourdonnais accepted the refusal of the minister and set to work more vigorously than ever to assure prosperity to his islands.

He was thus engaged when he received word from France that the war of the Austrian Succession had broken out between France and England. It was at this moment, when deprived of the fleet which might have held in its possession of the Indian Seas, that he received the appeal of Duploix to come to the rescue of Pondichery.

La Bourdonnais pressed into service all the vessels

which touched at Port Louis and from his meagre stock, he armed and provisioned them. He had already obtained and begun to equip five vessels including the one which had brought the word from Pondichery, when he learned that a squadron of five ships was on its way to him from France. This fleet arrived in January, 1746, and consisted of ship of war and four unarmed merchantmen. It was with the greatest effort that he armed these latter.

Full of joy at the prospect of action, La Bourdonnais left Port Louis on the 24th of March, to join his fleet which he had sent on to Madagascar for provisions. He had no sooner come up with it than a violent storm arose and very nearly destroyed the entire squadron. The battered fleet found a rendez-vous in the bay of Antongil on the coast of Madagascar, and the work of overhauling commenced.

The difficulties which La Bourdonnais had to overcome were without end. Handicapped by the absence of beasts of burden, of skilled workmen, and of the necessary implements and appliances, and by the loss of man after man from Marsh fever, La Bourdonnais again proved himself the man of action and at the end of forty-eight days the fleet was prepared to renew the voyage to Pondichery. The fleet now consisted of



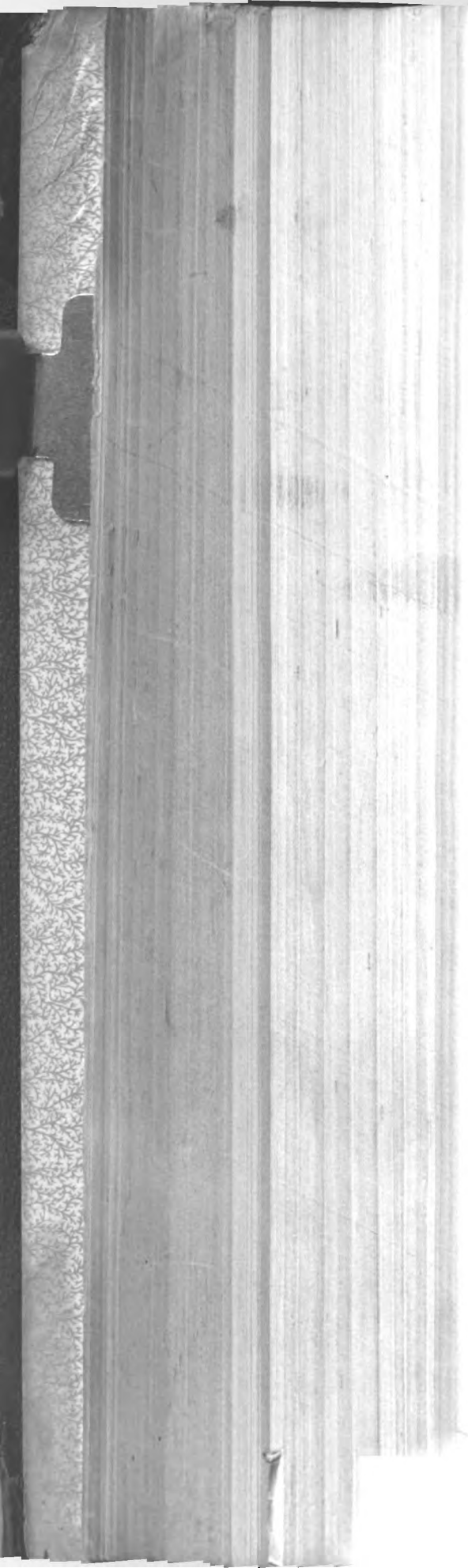
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nine ships and 3,342 men, of whom one fourth were Africans.

On the 6th of July, La Bourdonnais encountered the English fleet under Peyton off Negapatan. The English had the advantage of the wind and of the heavier armament, their guns being of twenty-four pounds, while the French were of twelve and fourteen. An engagement took place but when night fell the honors were even. On the next day, the English fleet, still retaining the advantage of the wind, refused to renew the contest and set sail for Trikamali. Three of La Bourdonnais' vessels having been disabled, he determined to make all sail for Pondichery, where he arrived on the evening of the 8th of July.

The accounts of the first meeting between the two men differ, but there would seem to be no good reason why it should not have been friendly. It is certain, however, that it was not many days before jealousy appeared, and the man preeminently of action who had created a fleet from nothing and had successfully beaten off the stronger English fleet, remained in Pondichery inactive.

The first of the long series of difficulties arose in the correspondence in regard to the disposition of Madras if taken. In a letter to Duplex on the 17th of July, La



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Bourdonnais asks, "What are we to do with Madras ?" My sentiments are that we should remove the merchandise and ransom the place, because if we should destroy it, it would be rebuilt within a year (1)." To this Dupleix answered, "I do not know just now the best thing to do with Madras. I would simply make the reflection that so long as that place stands Pondichery must languish. I do not think at all, that if destroyed it would be rebuilt within a year (2)." The sentiment in this letter is opposed to that in the letter of La Bourdonnais, and it is probable that the ill feeling began at this time. At any rate, La Bourdonnais remained inactive in the city.

There were two courses open to La Bourdonnais, and on this point both he and Dupleix were at first agreed. It was necessary either to destroy the English fleet or to proceed against Madras. In the beginning, it was accepted as a condition precedent to the taking of Madras, that the English fleet should be destroyed. La Bourdonnais admits this in a letter to Dupleix, of the 17th, before quoted. This course he shortly afterward refused to take, pleading that his armament was too inferior. Dupleix supplied him with all

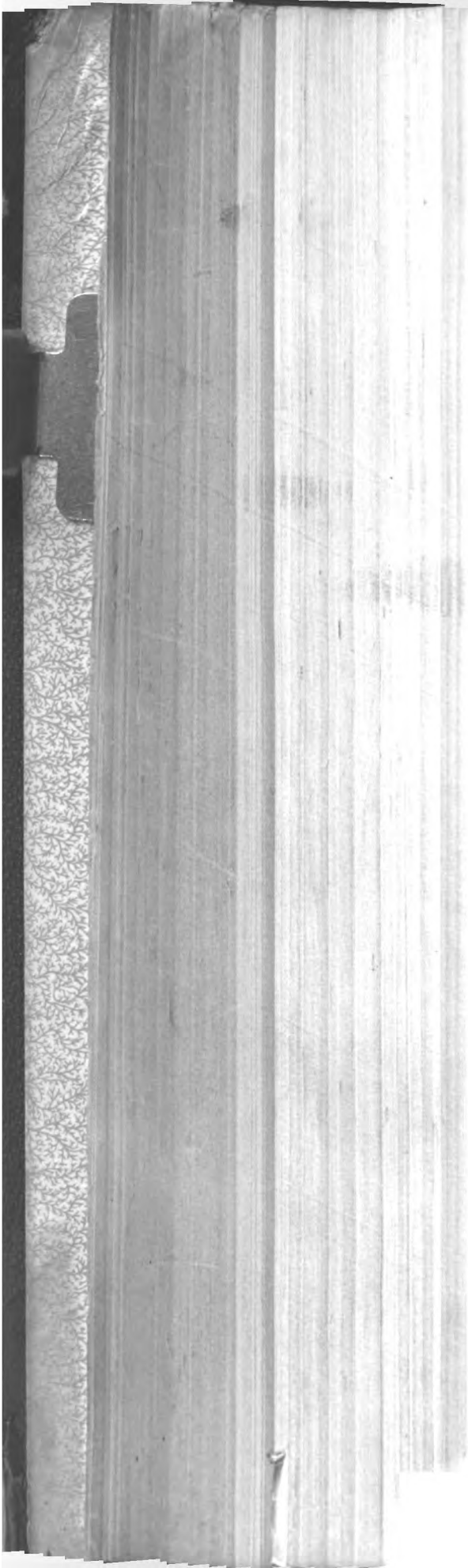
(1) Malleson, pp.133

(2) Malleson, pp.133

the cannon he felt he could without weakening the fortifications too much. This was another point of disagreement. La Bourdonnais had asked for forty-four eighteen pounders and fourteen twelve. Dupleix gave him twenty-eight of eighteen, and twelve of twelve, but also twenty-two of eight, and explained that he did not dare to give any more, fearing that the fortifications would be too much weakened if he should.

After numerous bickerings, La Bourdonnais decided to pursue the English fleet. He arrived off Karikal on the 13th of August. There he learned that the English fleet had been seen off the coast of Ceylon. La Bourdonnais then wrote Dupleix that he was satisfied that the English would not bother him if he should proceed to the siege of Madras, and that he would do so at once. He altered his plans, however, and set out after the English fleet. He came up with them off Negapatam, but could not bring them to action. They refused the contest and La Bourdonnais was unable to overtake them. He returned to Pondichery, dropping anchor there on the 25th of August.

La Bourdonnais stated that his fleet was too small for the double task of attacking Madras and holding the fleet of



the English off at the same time, and appealed to the Council for advice. The Council met and in a letter of the 28th, said, "Either you should attack Madras or drive the English fleet from these seas (1)." The answer of La Bourdonnais to this was, that he could not attack Madras until the English squadron was destroyed. That he could not destroy that fleet because it sailed faster than his own and that he could only stay in India until October, as he feared the the Monson. He declared that the Council did not mark out any definite course for him to follow, and that they should have bidden him to take one or the other (2). He further declared that the Council was the only bar to his action.

As soon as this was learned, Duploix called a meeting of the Council and La Bourdonnais was served with a summons calling upon him to take one of the two courses at once, and saying that if his inaction continued, he would be held personally responsible. That if he were too ill to take charge of the fleet, M Portbarre' could do so (3)." La Bourdonnais replied to this, saying, "He had only consulted the Council on the Madras question and that the destination of his fleet was

(1) Mall. pp. 137

(2) Mall. pp. 138

(3) Ham. pp. 45



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for him to decide (1).” On the 27th, La Bourdonnais sent the fleet to Madras under M Portbarre', being himself very ill. The fleet captured two small vessels and returned. La Bourdonnais having meantime recovered, embarked on the evening of the 12th of September for the siege of Madras.

(1) Ham. pp. 46

CHAPTER V

Mr. Morse, the English Governor of Madras, had been relying upon the restriction laid by the Nawab upon both the French and English to refrain from hostilities within his territories. Upon hearing of the intended attack upon Madras, he had sent a deputy to the Nawab praying him to prevent the attack. But unfortunately Mr. Morse had forgotten to send any presents to the potentate, and highly offended that any one should dare to ask a favor with empty hands, and beguiled by the skill of Dupleix, the Nawab refused to interfere. The trust Mr. Morse had placed in the English fleet had also failed.

On the 14th of September, La Bourdonnais landed five hundred men on the shore several miles below Madras, and keeping the fleet abreast of this column, he advanced upon Madras. On the 15th, he arrived within cannon shot of the city. He landed 1,100 Europeans, 400 Sepoys and 400 Africans. On the vessels there were still from 1,700 to 1,800 men. La Bourdonnais at once erected batteries and prosecuted the siege

with so much vigor that, on the 19th, an offer to treat came to him through Mrs. Barnwall, the daughter of Madame Dupleix and the wife of an English gentleman of Madras. La Bourdonnais signified his willingness to treat, and, on the 20th, two English gentlemen, Messrs. Monson and Hallyburton, presented themselves in the French camp. They offered a certain sum if the French would retire. This offer was refused and the two gentlemen returned to the city. Upon the retirement of these two deputies, the bombardment again began and was only discontinued when the two reappeared on the next morning. A capitulation was arranged, the terms of which were as follows : The fort and the city were to be given over to La Bourdonnais on the 21st. All the garrison, officers, soldiers, the Council, and all the English to be prisoners of war, and the Councillors, officers, and employees of the Company, and English to be free on their parole. The disposal of the city to be decided amicably between La Bourdonnais and the Governor, who engaged to hand over in good faith all the merchandise and effects. And if by purchase or ransom the city should be returned to the English, they should have their garrison returned for defence against the natives, but it was not to carry arms against

France (1).

On the 21st, La Bourdonnais wrote Dupleix that he had entered the city. On the 23d, he again wrote and said in this letter that the place was practically at his discretion (2). It is important to note that in these letters to Dupleix and the Council nothing was stated definitely about the ransom, and on the contrary, the clause in the treaty which speaks of it contains a condition. It reads, "Si par rachat ou rancon on remet la ville de Madras et (3)."

A new factor then entered the question. The Nawab, learning that the French had taken the city, demanded an explanation of Dupleix. He threatened to raise the siege with his own troops. Dupleix determining that if the French were not to have Madras, the English never again should, replied to the Nawab that the French were conquering Madras to make of it a present to him. Dupleix immediately dispatched the news of this to La Bourdonnais at Madras. He urged this as another reason why ransom should not be spoken of. This letter reached Madras on the night of the 23d. On the same day, the 23d, La Bourdonnais had written that there were

(1) Ham. pp. 49

(2) For let'rs. Vide Lab. H. pp. 365

(3) Ham. pp. 49

three courses open to him,--to raze the city, to ransom it, or to make of it a French colony. Of these three the one which seemed the best to him was the proposition of the ransom. On the 24th, La Bourdonnais asked the Pondichery Council for some plan to follow. The Council in reply advised him not to think of ransoming the city, because the bills given by Morse and his council would be disclaimed on the grounds that they had been given under constraint. They further advised the destruction of all the English Company's buildings, etc. (1).

La Bourdonnais replied to this advice by stating that he considered his actions as independent of the Council in regard to Madras, and he sent to it a copy of an unsigned treaty with Governor Morse, by which he bound himself to restore Madras to the English upon the payment of 1,100,000 pagodas.

Three Councillors were sent by the Council of Pondichery to form with La Bourdonnais, as their president, a provisory council to regulate the affairs of Madras. They were refused recognition by La Bourdonnais, and after protesting, they with-

(1) This correspondence will be found in Lab. M. pp. 205 et seq.

drew to St. Thome. On October 2d, a second commission composed of De Bury, M. Bruyere and Paradis reached Madras. They had been ordered to proclaim publicly that the ransom was null and void. This was done and in his exasperation La Bourdonnais, seeing himself supported by his troops, placed the commissioners under arrest.

It was at this moment that Dupleix received orders from the successor of Orry, M. Machault, which were of the utmost importance in the Madras controversy. They decreed plainly that the commander of the French squadron in the Indian Seas was to obey the orders of the Superior Council. Although La Bourdonnais raised the point, that at the time the orders were dated, Machault had not yet been named as minister, nevertheless, from this time there was a decided change in the tone of his letters. He wrote Dupleix that he would accept any terms that would preserve his word of honor intact. He sent to the Pondichery Council the conditions upon which he would make over to them the city. The principal ones were as follows : The promise that the treaty would be rigidly enforced ; that the Governor should be chosen from among his officers ; and, that the city should be restored on the first of January. (This was later changed to the last



of January) The Superior Council promised to keep the conditions if the English should, but they said that Despremesnil must be Governor, and that the city was not to be evacuated until a complete division of the spoil had taken place (1).

On the 14th of October, a hurricane struck the French fleet as it lay in the Madras roadstead. The loss was appalling. Of the eight ships composing the fleet, four were lost, two were rendered utterly unseaworthy, and the other two were badly damaged. This seems to have decided La Bourdonnais. On the 19th, he signed the treaty with Governor Morse, and although several of its terms had been objected to by the Pondichery Council, La Bourdonnais claimed their consent had been given. Thus terminated the long struggle.

On October 23d, La Bourdonnais made over the city to Despremesnil and left for Pondichery. The contest between himself and Dupleix was renewed. He wished to sail to Goa to refit and then to set out after the English fleet. But in order to do this he demanded of Dupleix arms and ammunition. Dupleix, smarting under the slights of La Bourdonnais and fearing to weaken the defence of Pondichery, refused to

(1) Mall. pp. 174

give them.

The plan of the Council was to send the fleet to Achin, on the island of Sumatra, so that if it were needed at Pondichery it would be near at hand. The orders from Machault to Dupleix had been brought by three men of war, and it was proposed that the ships should be divided into two squadrons and that they should set out for Achin. If the disabled division under La Bourdonnais was unable to make Achin, it was to sail for the Isle of France. After some delay this was agreed to by La Bourdonnais, and the two fleets left Pondichery, on the 29th of October. La Bourdonnais with his injured vessels was unable to make Achin and reached Port Louis on the 10th of December.

Upon his arrival at the Isle of France, La Bourdonnais found that he had been succeeded as Governor, but that his command over the fleet still maintained. In compliance with his orders, he set out for France at once. His fleet was shattered off the Cape of Good Hope, but he reached Martinique. There he learned that on account of the vigilance with which the English fleet was watching for French ships, his fleet would be unable to reach France in safety. He therefore left it at Martinique and embarked on a Dutch ship



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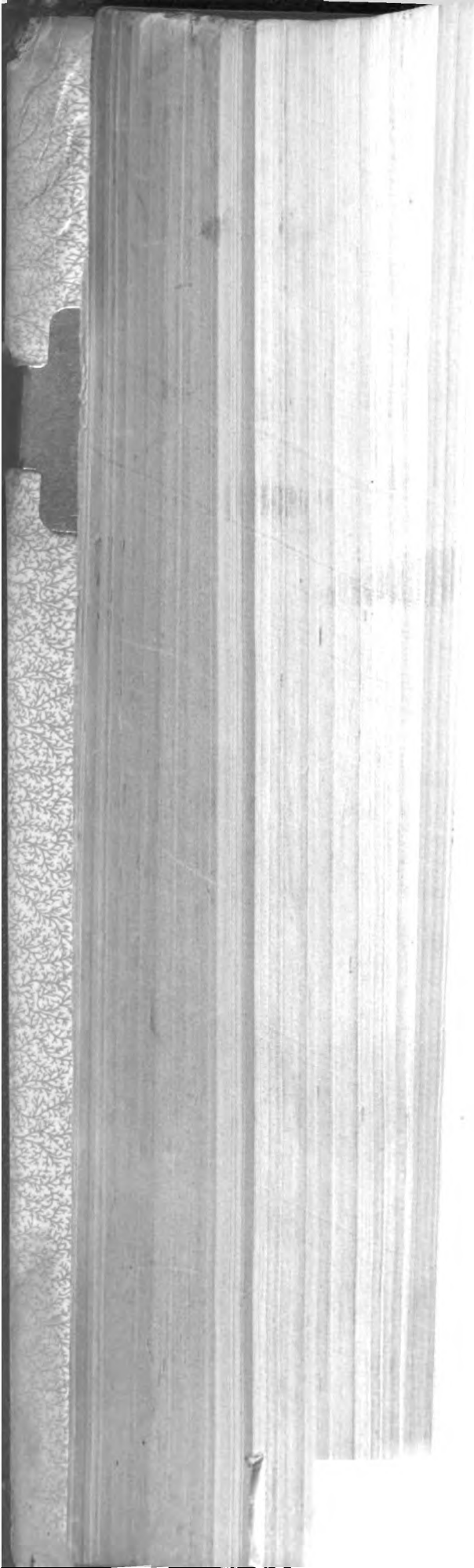
for France. This vessel was captured by an English ship and La Bourdonnais being recognized was taken to London. There he was treated with much kindness and allowed to proceed to Paris on his parole.

As soon as La Bourdonnais reached Paris he was accused by the Company of having misappropriated its funds, of having disregarded the King's orders, and of having been "en rapport" with the enemy. He was confined in the Bastille for three years pending his trial. At the end of that time his innocence was declared and he was released. He died shortly afterward, September 9th, 1753.

The lot of Duploix was equally unfortunate. On the 2d of August, 1754, Duploix was recalled and disgraced. In absolute poverty, he was compelled to dispute with the Company the remnants of his little savings. The Company reproached him with having ruined it and refused to pay him the immense sums he had advanced. And so the man who had been a virtual King, dispensing royalties and riches was forced to secure adjournments from day to day to prevent being dragged to prison. Worn out by the long struggle, he died on the night of the 10th of October, 1763.

The fate of the two men was the same. Each died from

the abuse of the Company to whose service he had devoted the
best years of his life,



CHAPTER VI

Statement and examination of the questions at issue between
the two men

Points at issue

I. The question of subordination. Was La Bourdonnais
actually subordinate to Dupleix ?

A. La Bourdonnais' argument

1. The King's Commission
2. The independence of the Isles

B. Dupleix's argument

1. The King's commission not comprehensive
2. The Isles dependant on Pondichery

II. Their attitude toward each other

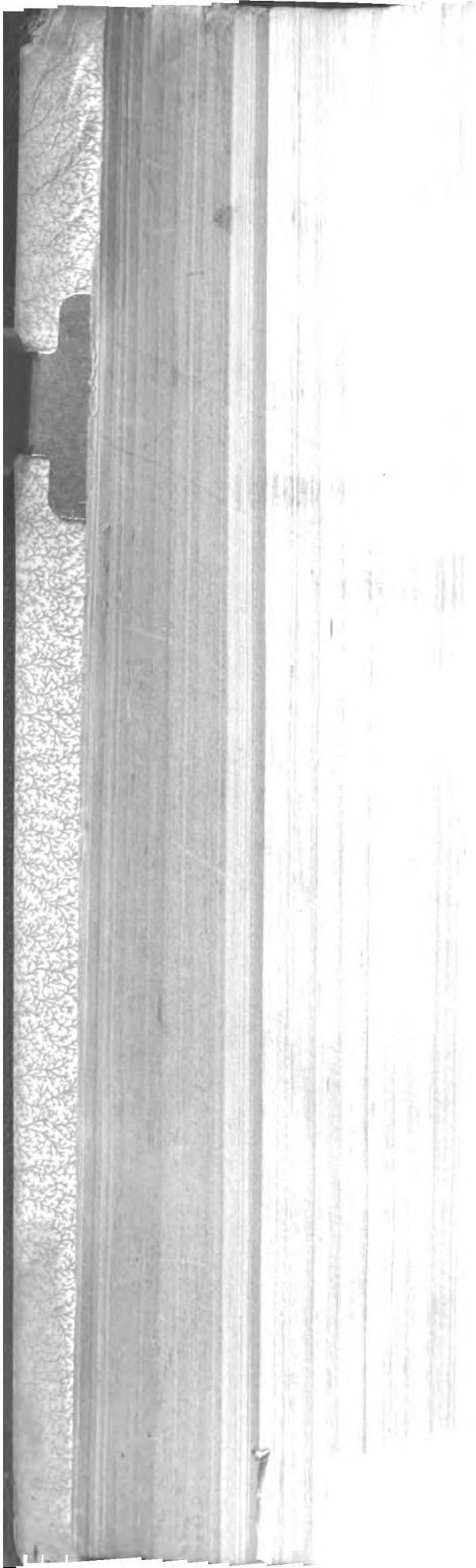
A. Was La Bourdonnais correct in his statement
that Dupleix was unwilling ?

B. Was Dupleix correct in his contrary statement ?

III. The taking of Madras

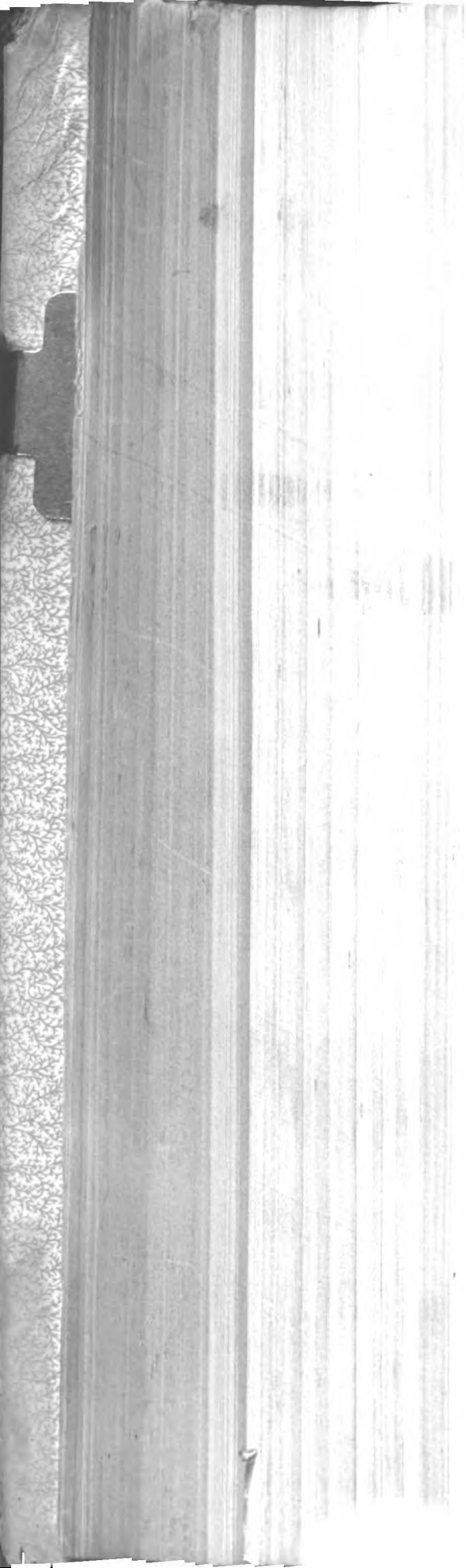
A. Did La Bourdonnais capture the city dependent-
ly or independently ? Was he the agent of the council
at Pondichery or not ?

B. Could he make a treaty and accept the capitu-
lation of Madras or not ?



C. Was La Bourdonnais bribed by the English to ransom Madras ?

IV. Is it not possible that the whole trouble was the result of the difference on character and career of Duplex and La Bourdonnais ?



I. Question of Subordination. Was La Bourdonnais subordinate ?

A. La Bourdonnais' argument.

1. The King's commission
2. The Isles independent.

I. The King's commission.

La Bourdonnais had been created Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon by an order of the King, in 1734. In 1745, the 11th of April, the following decree was issued : "De par le roi" "Il est ordonne a tous les capitaines et officiers des vaisseaux de la compagnie des Indes de recon- naitre pour commandant le sieur ---La Bourdonnais, capitaine de fregate, gouverneur des isles de France et de Bourbon, et de lui obeir en qualite l adite en tout ce qu'il pourra leur ordonner, soitqu'il s'embarque a bord d'un desdits vais- seaux, ou qu'il juge a propos de les envoyer a quelques ex- pedition particuliere, et ce sous peine de desobeissance. Signe, Louis (1). This and a similar decree (2) issued somewhat later are the two commissions of the King upon which La Bourdonnais based his argument of the King's commission. They seem totally inadequate to support his contention of

1 & 2 are to be found in La Bourdonnais Mem. pps. 264 and 265

equality.

Among the orders of the Ministry which La Bourdonnais used as proof, are the following : 1. An order from M. Orry, dated 18th of January, 1741, as follows : "In case M. La Bourdonnais comes to action all the officers of the Company, on land as well as on sea, will execute punctually the orders he may give, it being understood that in case the action takes place in some other government than the Isles, "Les conseils l'auraient préalablement autorisé à donner des ordres à terre" but as regards the forces on the sea, he is in every case to be the commander (1)." The following is an extract from a letter, also from Orry, written on the 20th of January, 1745: "You will advise M. Dupleix of the part you decide to take. I have given him the most precise orders to second you in all which depends on him (2)." In a letter from the same to the same on the 25th of November, 1745, M. Orry says, "The Company has sent all the vessels to you and left to you the power of their disposal, depending upon the circumstances and the news from India." And further on, "We do not care at all in what manner you may decide to use this expedition (3)."
It was then on these orders that La

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 243

(2) " " " " 250

(3) " " " " 281



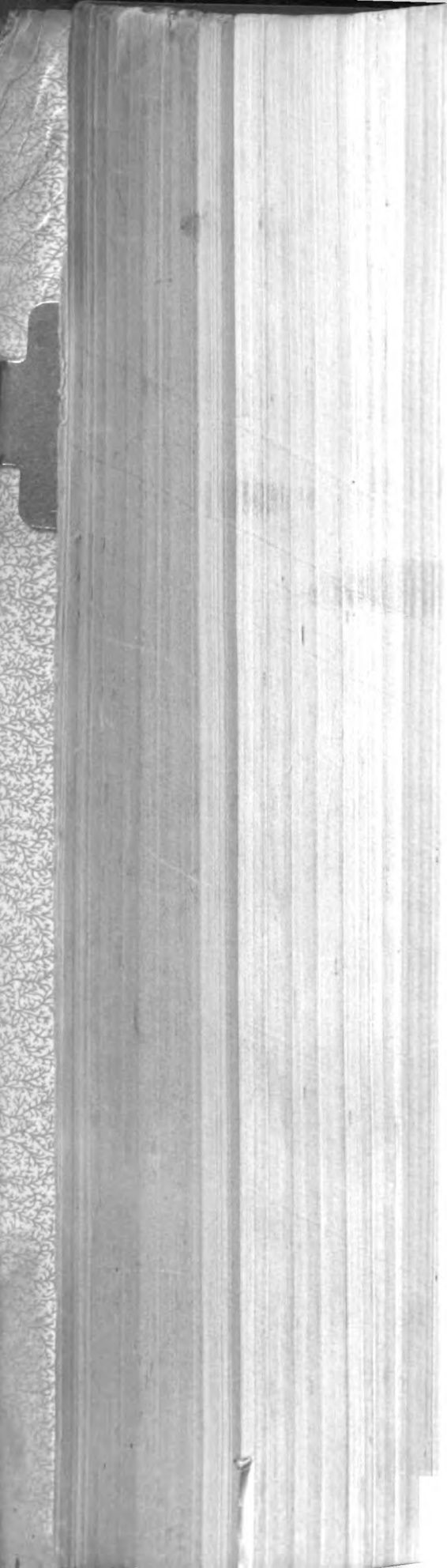
Bourdonnais based his claim of non-subordination. He admitted that he was to confer with M. Duploix, but not to accept his advice.

2. The question of the independence of the isles was brought forward only by La Bourdonnais. Duploix evidently considered it of no import as he nowhere denies it. Thus it may be taken as a fact as far as it is of use in the present question.

B. The argument of Dupleix and the Council.

Although Dupleix nowhere disputes the contention of La Bourdonnais that the latter was not subordinate as regarded the isles, he certainly regarded him as such in India itself. A letter, or rather an extract from a letter, to La Bourdonnais written by Dupleix from Pondichery, on the 26th of September, 1743, shows the attitude of Dupleix on this question. He says, "Vous avez vu l'an dernier un ordre du roi pour que les capitaines de vaisseau eussent à suivre les vôtres ; mais cet ordre ne change rien à celui prescrit de tout temp, qui veut que tous les commandants des vaisseaux de la compagnie soient sous l'autorité du commandant de l'Inde et du conseil supérieur."

The sentiment of the Council was the same as will be



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seen from the following extract from their letter to La Bourdonnais of the 28th of September : "It was unnecessary to give you orders to address yourself to the Superior Council, since it is a law established in the beginning in India, that all who are subjects of the King can address themselves to no one else. We know positively that you are not the bearer of orders to the contrary. We know that the ones which the minister has given you, far from departing from this custom, have bidden you to conform to it, saying that you ought to have for M. Dupleix all the regards which his position, as commander in India, demands of honor. This precaution of the minister, although he might have left the matter on the established footing, still more engages you to do as he desires (1)."

II. Attitude toward each other.

A. Was La Bourdonnais willing to help or not ?

B. Was Dupleix willing to help or not ?

A. The question of La Bourdonnais' willingness to help is one which is rather difficult to solve. As far as his physical willingness was concerned, there can be no doubt of his entire desire to forward the French cause up until the

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 292



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time he reached Pondichery. The vast amount of trouble he was subject to in preparing the fleet for the voyage ; the refitting of the fleet in the Bay of Antongil, after it had been nearly destroyed by a tempest ; these are proofs of his willingness to undertake the venture. And after his arrival in India his actual work in the taking of Madras was a further proof of his physical willingness. The only relapses were in his delays in taking decisive steps when his fleet lay in the Pondichery roadsteads. But this is met by the statement of La Bourdonnais, that he had asked the Council to choose definitely one of the two courses open to pursue and they had not done so. He had said in the letter which asked for this decision, "The affair is too delicate for me to take the sole responsibility of its outcome, it is certainly enough that I do all that which depends on me. I await therefore a vote of the Council which shall say that it is important for the honor of the flag and the interests of the Company to besiege that city(Madras), without which vote, I shall not depart (1)." According to La Bourdonnais this was not answered definitely and was the cause of his delay. Once that he had determined to proceed against Madras

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 97



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there was no unwillingness shown until it was in his power.

The moral, if it may be so called, unwillingness of La Bourdonnais became apparent very shortly after his meeting with Dupleix, and was probably induced by his dislike of the appearance or the reality of subordinacy. His condemnation or non-condemnation therefore rests upon the question of subordination or non-subordination discussed in the first paragraph of this chapter. But there is yet another proof urged by Malleson (1). The fact that he was bribed is charged as a proof that he was not willing to co-operate with Dupleix to secure the best returns from the taking of Madras, But be the reason what it may, the fact must be conceded. Even Birdwood, who defends La Bourdonnais on the bribery charge, says, "The English might then have lost India but for the antipathy of La Bourdonnais for Dupleix, and the conclusion of the peace of Aix la Chappel le, and the deaths of the Great Mogul, the Peshwa, and the Wizam ul Mulk, all in the same year, 1748, before the situation compromised by La Bourdonnais could be regained (2)."

E. Was Dupleix willing to help or not ?

(1) Malleson, pp. 180

(2) Birdwood, pp. 242



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The first opportunity Dupleix had to show his willingness to assist in the enterprise was when La Bourdonnais asked him for cannon and munitions. Dupleix did, as La Bourdonnais said, supply less than was demanded of him but his reasons appear to be good ones. In a letter to La Bourdonnais he says, "The forces of the enemy may augment, from Europe or from Bombay at the announcement of a general uproar, so that if some vessels of war should come from Europe and some smaller vessels from Bombay, they will certainly be in a condition to maintain head against you and to disable some of your vessels, obliging you to take refuge in our roadstead. What succor could it give you if deprived of its great cannon ?" (1)

La Bourdonnais has charged Dupleix with depriving him of the Pondichery troops on the eve of his departure for Madras. Dupleix argued that La Bourdonnais had not informed the Council of the destination of his fleet, and that he, Dupleix, was unwilling to risk the fate of the city in allowing the troops to depart on a voyage, the aim of which he did not know. In this position Dupleix was certainly justified as the letter of La Bourdonnais will show. The latter wrote the Council on the eve of his departure thus : "As to

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 90

the destination of my fleet, it (the Council) has no right to interfere. I know what I ought to do and my orders have been given for it to leave Pondichery this evening(1)." No mention of its destination is made and Dupleix may well have been alarmed.

Beside the two instances given the willingness of Dupleix to aid, cannot be seriously questioned and in these two, he would seem justified in the course he took. His conduct after the taking of Madras was in harmony with the acts and sentiments of the Council, and much of the unwillingness to aid charged to him from his conduct after and about the ransom by La Bourdonnais was due to the two diverse points of view of the two men. In his refusal to ratify the treaty Dupleix was seeking the best means of obtaining from the capture of Madras a lasting benefit for the Company. And from this point of view this was not secured by the treaty.

La Bourdonnais has urged that in promising Madras to the Nawab, Dupleix hindered his actions. Dupleix defended himself in that matter thus : The Nawab had forbidden the French to possess themselves of any English territory. In the event of a treaty at the close of the war the French, if they took it and held it, would probably be compelled to

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 100

return Madras to the English as the Dutch had been compelled to return Pondichery. By giving it to the Nawab his friendship was assured. Therefore determining that if the French were not to possess the city, the English should not, he determined to offer it to the Nawab. If the English wished it then, they could battle with the Nawab for it.

The general discussion of this question naturally falls under the last topic of this chapter, and therefore only several specific charges have been investigated.

III. The taking of Madras.

A. Did La Bourdonnais do it independently or as the agent of the Council ?

La Bourdonnais has based his claim that he was independent and not the agent of the Council in the capture of Madras upon the commission of the King and the orders of the minister, Orry (1). He also maintained that in as much as the action did not take place upon territory dependent upon the Council of Pondichery he was independent of that Council. The order of the minister reads, "Au cas que l'action se passe dans quelque autre gouvernement que celui des îles, les conseils l'auraient préalablement autorisé a donner des

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 243

ordres a terre." (1) This La Bourdonnais said was conclusive. To this was added the secret order of the minister which read as follows, "It is expressly forbidden to M. La Bourdonnais to preserve any captured place of the enemy (2)." La Bourdonnais says, "After my instructions and such orders I ought of necessity to believe that I needed no authorization from M. Dupleix or his Council, since I was in the establishment of an enemy, which was not at all dependent on them (3)."

In answer to the argument that as soon as the French flag was floated over Madras it became a French dependency, La Bourdonnais says, "Madras is certainly not a French colony but a conquest which I have just made and no one has the right to command there but myself (4)." He further argued that this was impossible since he had been forbidden to keep any captured territory of the enemies'.

The position of Dupleix and the Council was not at all complex. They maintained that the minister had never given to La Bourdonnais any orders which were contrary to the law established in the beginning of Eastern colonization, that all

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 248

(2) La B. Mem. pp. 249

(3) La B. Mem. pp. 137

(4) La B. Mem. pp. 143

who were subjects of the King could address themselves to no one but the Council. And that all were subordinate to the Governor General of the Indies. They further urged that as soon as the French flag floated over Madras it was French territory and under the sway of the Council. La Bourdonnais himself in a letter to Dupleix, shortly after the capture of the city seemed to hold the same view, although he later denied it. The letter read, "You ought to compliment yourself, monsieur ; your cares and your attentions have contributed much to the taking of that place (Madras).....If Madras belongs at present to the French Nation, it is to you, sir, that she is indebted (1)."

As for the argument based by La Bourdonnais upon the order of the secret instructions of the minister, forbidding him to keep any conquest, Malleson has shown some interesting facts. In the "Pieces Justificatives" contained in La Bourdonnais' memoir, Malleson has pointed out the fact that this is the only document in the collection which is not dated. The explanation offered by Malleson is, that the order was issued in 1741, and under circumstances which justified its terms at that time, but that it was of no force in

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 274



1746, and La Bourdonnais, recognizing this has placed it in the memoirs without the date, thus allowing a false estimate of its value in the Madras question to be formed(1). But granting its propriety as a justification, was it not complied with by Dupleix when he stated to La Bourdonnais that he did not intend to keep the city, but had offered it to the Nawab (2) ? The case is equally strong in either view.

B. Could La Bourdonnais make a treaty and accept terms or not ?

Was Madras French soil or not ?

These questions are so interwoven with the ones of subordination and his being the agent or not of the Council, that upon the answer accorded to them depends that of this question. The only new point to be considered is that contained in the letter of La Bourdonnais to Dupleix. He says in this letter, "Whether I am right or wrong I believed myself able to accord a capitulation to the Governor of that place. I would be the first soldier who had not the power to make conditions to those who had defended the walls of which he had made himself master (3)." This in itself is

(1) Malleson, pp. 152

(2) La Bour. Mem. pp. 130

(3) La Bour. Mem. pp. 303

correct but the question as raised by Dupleix is a broader one, and as said, its answer depends on that of the previous question.

C. Was La Bourdonnais bribed ?

Bribery was one of the charges brought against La Bourdonnais on his return to France. His grandson, speaking of this in his edition of the memoirs of La Bourdonnais, says, "As for his pretended treason, it consisted in a sum of 100,000 pagodas, said to have been given him by the English in order to obtain advantageous terms. It was M. Savage, Councillor of Madras, who imparted this knowledge under the seal of secrecy to Dupleix and his nephew. This nephew brought the accusation. By a very singular chance, Savage was the only one of the Council of Madras who no longer was alive when the suit was heard, and consequently, the only one from whom no denial could be obtained (1)." The grandson further says the accusation was only supported by Dupleix and his nephew. Also that there were many Jews and others in Madras who were said to have been compelled to contribute to the sum so alleged to have been given, and he asks, why did they not complain when Dupleix broke the terms of the

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 224

treaty thus dearly purchased? This was practically what happened, although after the trial of La Bourdonnais was finished and so of no value in that trial. Malleson urges that if the facts which were later brought to light, had been known at the time of the trial, the result would have been far different (1).

The facts referred to arose in a case which was the result of the refusal of the directors of the East India Company to meet the bonds on which the sum required for the ransom of Madras was obtained, on the grounds that the bonds had been given, not to save the Company's, but the private property of the Governor and his Council. The case which is known as case 31, was brought in 1752, and the papers are now in the India office.

The matter of the bribery is dismissed by La Bourdonnais' grandson in a very few pages (the gist of which has been given above.) It is not mentioned in the Memoir of Duplex nor in the Essay of Hamont. The only authorities at hand upon which to base an examination of the charge are the articles of Malleson and Birdwood. Both of these gentlemen base their arguments upon the Law Case in the India

(1) Malleson, pp. 587. The citation will be found in either Mall. or Bird. Mall. from 587 on ; Bird. 242 seq.

Office, quoted above. Birdwood has attempted to disprove Malleson to prove the charge (1 & 2).

Since the case is the bone of contention, the articles in it, which bear upon the case of bribery are here given in full. In Folio 3, Mr. Morse, late Governor of Madras, in a letter to a committee of the court of Directors, says, "I take this occasion to inform you, apart, that in that transaction, (ransom of Madras) we were under the necessity of applying a further sum than that publicly stipulated by the articles which affair, as it required privacy, was by the Council referred to myself and Mr. Monson to be negotiated."

Mr. Monson in a letter to the Directors says, "I am to acquaint you that in treating for the ransom, we were given to understand that a further sum was necessary to be paid, beside that mentioned in the public treaty. You will easily imagine that it required to be conducted with some degree of secrecy.Part of the money so borrowed was actually paid to the person so treated with and the rest was disbursed in defraying the charges of the garrison."

In Folio 5, Mr. Edward Fowke, who refused to sign the bonds given for this money, says, "I could have consented so

(1 & 2) M. & B. as before quoted.

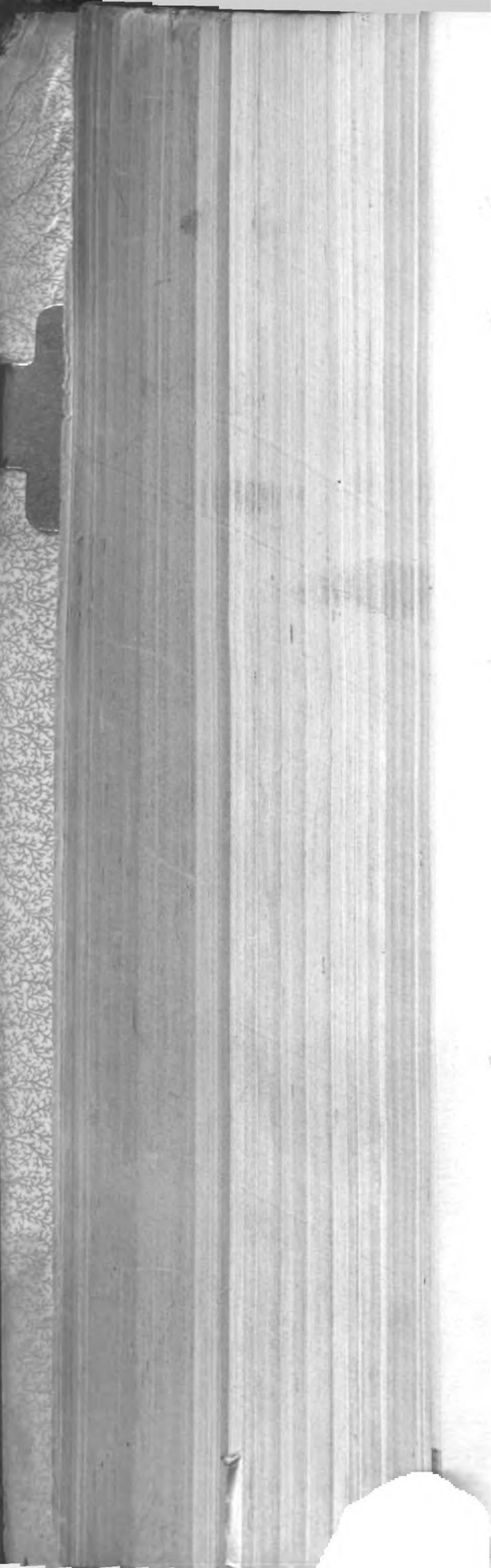
far as five or six lacs,-----Madras is but a tributary city. -----Therefore for your honors to be loaded with such a monstrous sum-----would I am afraid have a bad effect, especially with a little money laid out among the great men, which the French know pretty well how to place."

Folio 10. In the examination of several of the bond creditors they say, "That heard and believe that the then President (Mr. Morse)----did after the 10th of September, 1740, agree to give and pay La Bourdonnais 20,000 pagodas---- Not to exempt private goods, but that the sum was given as a douceur or present on behalf of the East India Company, with the view to reduce the amount of the ransom insisted upon by M. La Bourdonnais."

In Folio 11. the same creditors say, "They do believe in their consciences that the said sum agreed to be paid La Bourdonnais was entered into for the benefit of the Company."

Folio 12. Francis Salvadore, executor for Jacob Salvadore, says, "He don't know but hath heard and believes that the said President and Council did after the 10th of September, 1740, agree to give or pay to the use of M. La Bourdonnais, the sum or value of 20,000 pagodas----."

Folio 21. In reply to certain questions, Mr. Monson



1.0000

says, "He, the said Mr. Monson, having afterward, (after the treaty had been settled) heard from M. La Bourdonnais that they must pay him down 100,000 pagodas, if they expected the performance of the agreement, he informed the Council, who after a deliberation, agreed to pay it.----."

Folio 23. Mr. Fowke says, "He (Mr. Fowke) is a stranger to the payment, but don't doubt the money being paid."

The above are all the Folios which bear directly on the case.

In his confutation of the charge of the bribery, Birdwood says that in the whole case, Folio 23, is the only one which is evidence of any money having been paid to La Bourdonnais by way of dusturi. His reason is that, excepting Mr. Fowke, the others are out of court since they were personally interested in the issue. He also says, Mr. Fowke would be likewise if it were proven that he was a sleeping partner with his brother Joseph, who was one of the bond creditors. But, he should have added, had not been proven.

Birdwood further says, "La Bourdonnais was probably quite capable of accepting a dusturi or douceur. It was the universal custom of the time. It was one of the perquisites of public office. It seems very probable that in consider-



ation of La Bourdonnais' "politeness in exempting Madras from pillage" (quoting the case from memory) the Governor and Council agreed to make him a private present of 88,000 pagodas. That this money was mostly otherwise expended----- and a difficulty having arisen about its refunding, by the Directors, it was plausibly pleaded that it was paid La Bourdonnais to secure the execution of the treaty (1)."

Malleson answers these arguments as follows : He says that the members of the Council were no more on their own defence than a member of the council of the present day would be, if asked to narrate certain transactions in which, by virtue of his office, he had taken a prominent part. Who but Mr. Morse and Mr. Monson could have revealed the negotiations between themselves and La Bourdonnais ?-----The then late Governor and his Council state that La Bourdonnais insisted on a bribe (see Folio 3, 4 and 21 quoted by Sir George Birdwood), they formed the committee to which the negotiation was intrusted ; and their statement is practically confirmed by the men to whom they applied to raise the money (see Folio 10). Their colleague, Mr. Fowke, although a stranger to the payment, expresses his belief that the

(1) Bird. pp. 243. Malleson, pp. 593



money was paid (1).*

Col. Malleon also places stress upon the fact that if the evidence brought forward in this trial had been presented at the trial of La Bourdonnais the result would have been far different.

The suggestion of Birdwood that this money may have been given as *dasturi* or a *douceur* by the members of the Madras Council, and as a private affair is untenable. La Bourdonnais had been offered by the Pondichery Council to disregard all attempts at ransom. If then he accepted under these circumstances any sum of money whatever, it can be called nothing but a bribe truthfully. And such a transaction was neither a custom of the time nor yet one of the perquisites of office.

The suggestion that it was from the private purse of the Governor and his Council, as Malleon points out, foolish and even were it so, the idea in the gift would have been the same since the influence of money is the same be it given publicly or privately.

The conclusion seems inevitable that there was more than pique or wounded vanity which emboldened La Bourdonnais to

(1) Malleon, pp. 596

assume the attitude toward Dupleix that he did. And which caused him to persist in this attitude in the face of all the entreaties and commands of Dupelix and the Council. There must have been some internal influence and a powerful one too, to have stimulated him throughout the long weeks from the 21st of September to the 18th of October. And in his last act, he signed the treaty and asserted that the Council of Pondichery had agreed to it, when he had in possession a letter from that body emphatically refusing to accept two of its most important terms. And yet at the same time the strongest plea La Bourdonnais makes in his Memoirs in defence of this very act, is that he had pledged his word to the Madras Council and that his honor was at stake. He refused to break his word to the Madras gentlemen, but he did not hesitate a moment to lie deliberately, in saying that the Pondichery Council had given its consent to the terms of the treaty. And an equally strange thing is that until the twenty-third of September, he nowhere speaks in his letters to Dupleix, of his word being engaged to ransom the city, but on the contrary, says that he holds it at his discretion. In his Memoirs, however, he says that he pledged his word to that effect on the twenty-first (1).

(1) La B. Mem. pp. 119

If the fact is forgotten that La Bourdonnais was the Admiral who conquered seemingly insuperable obstacles at the Isle of France and at the Bay of Antongil ; who, as Hamont says, was "Splendid in power and decision on the bridge of his own ship." If these things are forgotten and we, like Teufelsdröckh, look for the man unclad, the affair resolves itself into this simple question : Were the orders of the King and minister of a character ambiguous enough to support the man La Bourdonnais, in a contention, one issue of which was worth to this man in the neighborhood of 200,000 dollars? There can be but one answer.

IV. The possibility of the whole trouble being due to the difference in character and career of the two men.

It is immaterial what the sequences of the Madras affair were due to, as regards this topic, but there can be no doubt as to the cause of their commencement. It lay in the inherent differences in the two men. La Bourdonnais was, above all, the man of action. Prompt in council, used to commanding and to seeing his will obeyed, and it was as Hamont says, "Upon the bridge of his vessel, fortified with letters of marque and armed for the fray, that he was splendid in power and decision. Then he had not to dread a rival

then he was not compelled to bow to the laws of a hierarchy insupportable to his pride (1)." But in commanding La Bourdonnais had forgotten how to obey.

The character of Duplex is in striking contrast. He had early cast the horoscope of India and accepted the result as his religion. It was to make the French power the dominant one in India. A master in council, an adept in diplomacy, he "knew neither hate nor affection. He obeyed only the interests of state and saw in the conquest of India only a series of political combinations, of diplomatic perfidies and of manoeuvres to execute unfeelingly against certain positions, the downfall of which meant final success(2)." Men were the pieces in the game he played. The end was with him ever the justification of the means. His genius was far from that of the soldier. It was the genius of statesmanship.

It was well nigh impossible for natures so antipodal to ever harmonize.

(1) Hamont Mem. Dup. pp. 35

(2) Idem pp. 33



Page 1
The first part of the book
is devoted to a general
description of the
country and its
resources. The author
then proceeds to a
detailed account of
the various
industries and
commerce of the
country. The book
is written in a
clear and concise
style, and is
highly interesting
and valuable.

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COLONEL FRANCIS FORDE.

THESIS
PRESENTED FOR
THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE.

BY

PHILIP HENRY BRADLEY.

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CORNELL UNIVERSITY,

ITHACA, N. Y.,

1898.

APPENDMENT.

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Masulipatan.....p. 6-30.
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FRANCIS FORDE.

Francis Forde sprang from a family the earliest member of whom we have any trace, was Nicholas Forde of Coolgreany, of the county of Wexford, claiming Welch extraction. The only date that remains to us of him, is that of his death in 1605.

Francis was the second son of Mathew Forde, of Seaford county Down, and Anne, the daughter of William Brownlow, of Lengan, who were married in 1693. He was the descendant of Nicholas Forde, in the fifth generation and was one of a family of six children. Strange as it may seem there is no record of the date of his birth but it is stated that in 1728 he married a widow, Mrs. Martha George and left issue. (1) This is improbable for he is first mentioned in the Army List as having been appointed a captain in

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(1) Burke, vol. I. S. V. Forde.

Adlercron's 89th regiment on the 30th of April 1746. This was the first regiment of the King's army ever sent to India. (1) It was despatched by William Pitt to give aid to the East India Company in the struggle with the French in southern India and arrived at Madras in September 1754. (2)

On November 13, 1755 he was promoted to be Major in this regiment. His first appearance in Anglo-Indian history, was as the commander of a small force which met defeat at Nellore. It is worthy of note that Forde who was to be the famous victor of Condore and Siderra, and conqueror of Masulipatan should have entered upon such a famous and brilliant career with an unsuccessful movement.

It happened in this manner: In 1757, Najib-ulla Khan, the Governor of Nellore, rebelled against the authority of his brother the Nawab. An army of 10,000 men was marched against him, including a contingent under the command

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(1) Dic. Nat. Biog. S. V. Forde.

(2) Orme, vol. 1, p. 371.

of Forde, which consisted of 100 Europeans, 56 Kaffirs, (1) 300 Sepoys, one 18 pounder, three 6pounders and a howitzer. (2)

The Sepoys were sent over land to Kistnapatam, and Forde proceeded by sea with the remainder of his troops for the same place, where the necessaries for the march of twelve miles to Nellore were secured. The fort was about twice as large as Madras. It had five gates, and was surrounded, by a thick mud wall. Around the whole was a dry ditch. (3)

Najib-ulla left the town to be defended by a garrison of 3,000 of his men, assisted by twenty Frenchmen from Masulipatam. (4)

Fire was opened upon the fort on the 3d of May, and upon the 5th a practical breach was made, and at the break of day, the assault took place. Such a strong defense

- (1) Orel.
- (2) Hunter, vol. X, p. 263.
- (3) Cambridge, pp. 110-111.
- (4) Hunter, vol. X, 263. S. V. Nellore.

was made, and so warmly was the assaulting party received, that it was obliged to fall back. The result might have been different had not the Sepoys displayed the utmost cowardice. In the first place they would approach no closer than 50 or 60 paces to the breach, and in the second, when the fire was hottest, and the contest for the possession of the wall the fiercest, they fled toward the battery. Of the Europeans, forty were killed and wounded, together with about fifty Caffirs and Sepoys. All these were wounded in such a way as to be unfit for present action. Troops and ammunition now being greatly diminished, Force stopped all further proceedings until he should hear from the governor and council at Madras.

Meanwhile the French had taken up a position very near Madras. This being the case, it was decided that it was best to give up the undertaking, and Force was ordered to join a detachment of 300 men sent to the southward, to prevent the designs of the enemy upon Trichinopoly, and also to serve as a barrier between the French force in the

field and Fort St. George. (1)

Robert Clive perceived Forde's great military abilities and it was upon his express invitation that Forde resigned his commission in the royal army for one in the East India Company's service in June 1758, and proceeded to Bengal, in order to act as second in command to Clive in that Presidency, and to be ready to succeed Clive himself as commander in chief in case of need. (2)

He remained at Calcutta until October 1758, when he was selected by Clive to lead an expedition into the northern Circars, which resulted in his brilliant victory at Condore, and his famous and daring capture of Masulipatam.

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 (1) Cambridge, 111-112.

(2) Dic. Nat. Biog. S. V. Forde.

CHAPTER II.

CONDORE AND MASULIPATAN.

In order to discuss those events, namely the Battle of Condore, and the Capture of Masulipatan, it is necessary to understand the position in which Colonel Clive was placed, and the condition of the country, the Northern Circars, together with the affairs of the French.

The fate of the Southern part of the peninsula, below the river Kistna had virtually been decided by Clive's victory at Kaveripak.

The territory lying between that river and the Vinchayan range, seemed likely to remain under French influence. At Haidernagar, the Marquis de Bussy, the ablest of French generals of that time, and a really great soldier, diplomat and statesman exerted strong influence, being on the most intimate terms with the Subahdar of the Deccan or Nizam Salabat Jung as he was commonly called.

The French, however, were relieved of any necessity of relying upon the favor of the Subahdar, by having suppressed an intrigue of the Minister of the Subahdar, and having dictated their own terms, by which they gained control of the provinces of Eilore, Shrikakolam, Kondapalli, and Hurtazanagar. These territories rendered the French masters of the greatest dominion, both in extent and value that had ever been possessed in Hindoostan by Europeans. (1)

This district Bussy ruled well for a little over four years, from 1753 to 1758. One of his first cares was to expel the few English who remained near Masulipatan.

About the end of April 1758, the Count de Lally arrived at Pondicherry, intending to drive the English out of Southern India. He ordered Bussy to come at once to Arcot, and sent the Marquis de Conflans to take the post thus vacated. At the same time he removed the French agent at Masulipatan, M. Moracin.

.....

(1) Orme.

M. de Conflans was new to Indian affairs. He was a stranger, and had to deal with strange people. Immediately came the news that the main French army had retreated from Tanjore.

This information led to the belief in the minds of several of the nobles of the native court of the Nizam, that the time had come when the power of the French should be overthrown.

Even before Bussy was recalled, Anandraz Gajapati, Raja of Vizianagram, the son of the Subadar from whom the government had been wrested by the French, entered into communication with the English in Madras and in Bengal.

The retreat of the French from Tanjore then decided him to commence operations on his own account. Therefore on the 2d of September 1753, he took possession of Vizagapatam and raised the English flag. He immediately sent word to Calcutta of what he had done and asked for British help, to drive the French from the Northern Circars. With one exception the Calcutta Council deemed such a proposition sheer madness, as Bengal at that time was in danger of an invasion by the Shahzada, the oldest son of the Great Mughal and besides the feeling in Murshidabad, the capital

of the Nawab of Bengal was also hostile. The one exception was the Governor, Robert Clive,

Realizing the great benefits which might be derived from these territories, he finally carried his point in the council. (1)

After it had been decided that the English should take a hand in the affairs in the Northern Circars, it was necessary to find a man who should be thoroughly competent to take charge of such an expedition. It was impossible for Clive himself to go, as he had to remain to ward off the evils which were threatening Bengal.

Forde was just the man for the place. As has been seen he had been summoned from Madras through Clive's friendship to take up the post of second in command, in Bengal. Forde was now, in October 1758, ordered to set sail for Vizagapatam and drive the French from the Northern Circars. His command was composed as follows - 500 Europeans, being five companies of the Company's Bengal European regiment, one company of European artillery, 1500 Sepoys, or according to some authorities 2000, six short 6-pounders, 1 howitzer, four 24-pounders, four 16-pounders,

one 8 inch mortar and two royal mortars. (1)

The companies of the Bengal European Regiment were under the command of Captain Ainet, and the five individual companies were under Captains Fische, Martin, Burke, Koltimore and Captain-Lieutenant Patrick Moran. (2) The two Bengal Sepoy battalions were commanded by Captains Knox and Maclean and there were with the force some unregimented companies of Native Sepoys. (3) The commander of the artillery force is not named although mention is made of Captain Bristol an adventurer who commanded about forty renegade Europeans with the four guns of the Raja Anandraz (4). Mr. Johnstone of the Bengal Civil Service accompanied Forde as political officer, (5) and was wounded at Condore.

Forde departed from Calcutta October 12th and arrived at his destination on the 20th. (6) From this time on,

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(1) Cambridge, 202.

(2) Innes, p. 74.

(3) Wilson, vol. 1, p. 129.

(4) Neill, p. 145.

(5) Innes, p. 74.

(6) Malleson, pp. 79.

Forde was called, Colonel, in anticipation of the colonel's commission which Clive had promised him from the East India Company. On his return to Calcutta he was bitterly disappointed to find that the directors of the Company, had refused to confirm his commission in their service, and that Eyre Coote, formerly his Junior, in the King's 88th or Adiercron's Regiment had returned to India with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the King's service and in command of a fine regiment. (1)

Conflaus had under him a well-seasoned body of troops, who had served under Bussy, but he delayed sending them to crush the insurrection under Anandraz, fearing that he was in danger from a formidable rebellion. Had he marched upon the Raja, immediately upon the receipt of the news of the insurrection, he could in all probability have put an end to the movement, and would in any case have reached Vizagapatam some days prior to the departure of the English from Calcutta. But he waited, asking Lally

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(1) Dic. Nat. Biog. S. V. Force, vol. 19, p. 427.

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then Olive had promised him from the East India

On his return to Calcutta he was offered

to find that the directors of the Company,

to continue his connection in their service, and

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the Regiment was returned to India, in the year

Colonel in the King's service and to command

Regiment. (1)

He had under his well-merited body of troops,

the most busy, but he enjoyed standing firm

the instruction under Amhurst, leading that he

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to the movement, and would in any case have

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from Calcutta. But he writes, saying lately

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1. Blog. S. V. Forest, vol. 19, p. 427.

for more troops, until he learned that Keracim at the head of 300 men was on his way, to support him. Only then did he start for Raja Mahendri. Both the English and the Raja had taken advantage of this delay of six weeks. Anandraz had under his only about 3000 poorly armed men, who could not have withstood a French attack. Several English agents had hurried forward to Anandraz to announce Force's coming, and to prepare the place for the troops. Negotiations were also going on under the charge of Mr. Andrews of the Civil Service preparatory to signing the treaty. The terms to which the Raja finally consented, and which on the 15th of October 1755, he signed, are as follows:-

1. The Raja to pay the extra expenses of the British Army, during the time it should be employed - 5000 pounds a month - and pay the officers double patta - 600 pounds a month, these sums being payable as soon as the Raja should be put in possession of the town of Raja Mahendri.

2. The Raja to be possessed of all inland territory, belonging to the country powers, but the Company to retain all the seacoast from Vizapatnam to Masulipatam with

several towns and ports on that line.

3. No treaty for subsequent disposal or restitution whether of the Raja's or Company's possessions to be made without the consent of both parties.

4. All plunder and prize to be equally divided. (1)

Conflans in moving forward saw that he had lost his opportunity for crushing Anandraz, and therefore determined to fortify himself in a commanding position. He elected a place about forty miles from Raja na Hendri, which commanded all the approaches to Vizagapatam. He had under him 500 Europeans, 6000 native infantry, 500 native cavalry with some artillery. On December 3, Colonel Ferde, as he is called, arrived with 470 Europeans, and 1800 Sepoys. With him was Anandraz, who had joined him at Kasim Kota on November 3, with his 40 Europeans, 5000 men, 500 horsemen and four guns.

Finding Conflans position too strong to be attacked Ferde fortified himself three or four miles from the French camp. Up to December 8, nothing was done, each party

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(1) Innes, p. 75.

thinking the other too strong to be attacked. Upon that day each commander resolved to make a sudden move. Conflans resolved to fortify a small hill overlooking Forde's camp, to open fire upon the camp, and in the confusion, which he felt sure would follow, hoped to make an assault with his main body. Forde intended to remove his entire army to a point about three miles from Condore. If these plans had been carried out exactly, the French would have been foiled. But the Raja instead of starting at the appointed time, remained a few hours longer in camp. Forde had left, the Raja's camp was peacefully sleeping, when the fire from the French guns was opened upon it. Confusion immediately ensued, and messengers were sent to Forde, begging him to return. He, hearing the firing, had already turned back and met the Raja and his forces who had been hurrying after him. Together they marched to Condore. (1)

Conflans thinking that he had put the whole body to route determined to pursue. Quickly forming his men he marched on Condore, which was held by Forde. The latter prepared to give battle. In the center were the Europeans;

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(1) Malleson, p. 52.

to the right and left were the native trained troops, and on both flanks were the Raja's raw levies who soon decamped and hid in a hollow. The Europeans were entirely concealed in a field of Indian corn and the native troops were dressed in red, both of which facts had much to do in bringing about the French defeat. Conflans directed a vigorous attack upon the red coated natives, whom he believed to be Europeans, and put them to flight. Thinking this had won the day Conflans pursued the fleeing Sepoys.

The pursuing platoons were suddenly confronted by the solid lines of the English, who opened a withering fire upon them. The French broke and ran. On the left Forde moved up to support his Sepoys who showed signs of weakening. Rallying them, he hotly pursued the French, capturing their artillery and thus winning the day. But the camp still remained to be attacked. In this movement the Raja could not be induced to take part, so Forde gathered together his own Sepoys and moved forward to attack.

As soon as the English were seen a few shots were fired upon them, from the entrenched camp, near Tallepool,

and then every man in the camp fled in confusion toward Raja mahendri, leaving everything in the hands of the English.

Forde's loss was one officer, Captain Adnet and fifteen men of the Bengal Europeans and four officers and thirty men of the same regiment wounded and about one hundred of the Bengal Sepoys were killed or wounded. (1)

Condore was won solely through the genius and resolution of Forde. He had dared much and succeeded because he dared, and lastly, he could rely upon himself, and upon his troops. (2)

He sent Captain Knox with a battalion of Sepoys to follow up the vanquished, who had gathered at Raja mahendri. But the latter were too frightened to make any resistance so during the night all but fifteen escaped across the Godavari river. Conflans himself fled to Masulipatanam.

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(1) Innes, p. 79.

(2) The authorities used for the battle of Condore are Malleson, p. 81-87, Cambridge, p. 204-206, Orme, vol. 333 p. 376-382, Innes, p. 76-79 and Neill p. 145-148.

Captain Knox, by the order of Forde, in compliance with the terms of the treaty of the 15th of October, gave up Rajanatendri to the Raja Anandraz, who appointed Captain Bristol to be its Governor, and this officer took charge of the sick and wounded, the stores, artillery, and the baggage of Forde's army. (1)

Forde's work of expelling the French from the Northern Circars was now half finished. There still remained the stronghold of Masulipatam, from which he must dislodge the French. (2)

Forde was anxious to follow up immediately the advantage which the victory at Condore had given him by marching directly upon Masulipatam, which contained a strong garrison. Conflaus in spite of his losses was gaining courage, for he had received intelligence that Moracin was coming by sea to his assistance at the head of 300 men and that Salabat Jang, the Nizam or Subahdar of the Deccan was

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(1) Cambridge, p. 208.

(2) Malletson, p. 89.

also coming to his support as a result of urgent entreaties.

(1)

But Forde's main difficulty was the lack of funds. Anandraz had promised to make the first payment, according to the treaty, as soon as he should be put in possession of the fort of Raja La Hendri, and Forde relying upon his word had lent him 20,000 rupees, before going to Easie Kota. Now Forde was entirely destitute of cash but still relying upon the Raja's promises he crossed the Godavari on the 23d of September, hoping to reach Masulipatan before the French had recovered from their defeat. The Raja neither followed nor sent any money, and as Forde could not go on without either, he had on the 26th of December to recross the river, much to his disgust.

The Raja fearing that Forde had returned to punish him fled to the hills. Forde camping at Pondapur. (2) Here he received 20,000 rupees from Mr. Andrews, who went

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(1) Malleson, p. 91.

(2) Orme, p. 472-473, vol. III.

immediately to the Raja and by slight changes in the treaty procured from him 6000 rupees in ready money and bills at ten days for 60,000 more.

The Raja accompanied Mr. Andrews back to camp, and on the 26th of January, 1759, after ~~fifty~~ days had been lost the two armies moved toward Masulipatam. But now the French had had time to ~~thoroughly~~ recover from their defeat.

(1)

Conflaus should have made every resistance to the approaching army, and one station which he might have held, or at least made an endeavor to hold was Ellore. But strange to say he ordered it to be vacated, and drew all his troops into Masulipatam. The only place fortified was Narsipin twenty miles south-east of Ellore.

This place was commanded by M. Panneau, a man of the Conflaus type. Du Rocher with an "army of observation" had taken up a position nearly thirty miles due west of Ellore. Narsipin, with a garrison of 500 was thus nearly isolated, and Forde resolved to take it before it could

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(1) Orme, p. 473.

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p. 478.

be received. He therefore sent Captain Knox with a battalion of Sepoys to capture it. By threats, the Zamindar of the district was made to ally himself with the English, upon hearing which Panneau abandoned Warsipin, destroyed all ammunition not needed, and hurried to Du Rocher. Leaving a few men to garrison the place, Knox returned to Forde. (1)

On the 18th of April the Raja to prevent a quarrel with whom, Forde had allowed to have his own way in marching, arrived, but it was not until March 1, that they were ready to start out.

On the 3d they came upon a small but strong fort, called Konkai which was garrisoned by 18 Frenchmen and two companies of Sepoys. An assault upon the place was made, and after a sharp fight it was taken, Du Rocher coming up too late to be of any assistance, and finding that out, drew off. A small garrison was left, and Forde marched on toward Masulipatam. (2)

Conflaus had taken up a strong position in a town nearly two miles from the fort. It was capable of being

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(1) Malleson, p. 92.

(2) Orme, p. 9, 477.

easily defended, had an abundant water supply, and in case a retreat should be necessary, the guns of the fortress would offer their protection.

But Conflaus weakened as Forde came up, and withdrew into the defenses of the fort. This was capable of offering a prolonged defense. It was in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, about 800 yards in length and from 500-600 broad. It was nearly a mile and a half from the sea, on the bank of a small inlet and was surrounded on the other three sides by swamps. The outlines of the work consisted of eleven bastions of different sizes, surrounded by a wet ditch; the escarp and counterscarp were of earth faced with masonry. On the eastern and western sides were ranges of sand hills, and upon those in the east, Forde began to erect his batteries. They were about 800 yards from the fort. The erection of these took from the 7th to the 25th of March, and during all this time he was subjected to the most discouraging reports. Du Rocher threatened to march upon Rajamahendri, which he at length did, Bristol vacating the place and this so terrified the Raja that he refused to advance a rupee; the treasure

chest was empty; the Subahdar of the Deccan was approaching with 4000 men. In addition to this, his own troops threatened to march away, on account of lack of pay. Again Forde showed himself a natural born leader of men. He quieted his soldiers and persuaded them to return.

On the 25th of March, fire was opened upon the fort, but the damage done was slight. By a quick movement the French erected a battery, and took the besieging guns in the reverse doing not a little damage.

By this time Salabat Jang, had come within 44 miles of Masulipatan and had ordered Anandraz to join him. Without a word the Raja started off for his own province. But Forde overtook him, and showed him that his only hope of existence lay in remaining with the English. The gallant Colonel then entered into communication with the Subahdar, who consented to remain encamped where he was and receive an English envoy. Then came the news that Salabat Jang had violated his promise, that he had broken camp; that Du Rocher was hurrying forward to effect a junction with him, and that only two days ammunition remained in store. (1) According to every rule of war Forde was lost.

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(1) Malleson, p. 94.

He was simply determined to win. He had confidence in himself and felt that Conflaus was not his equal in any way. On the morning of the 7th of April he opened a heavy fire on all the bastions and continued it until the latest possible moment, having determined to make the grand assault that night. The north-east angle of the fort was to be the real place of attack, but as a ruse, Captain Knox was to betake himself to the south-west angle, and Anandraz was to make an attack upon the ravelin covering the caponniere which was a part of the causeway which led from the town to the north-west, bastion of the fort.

At ten o'clock that night the various attacking parties were under arms. As the party led by Captain Knox comprised entirely of Sepoys, seven hundred in number, destined to wade through the swamps by a difficult though practicable passage, and attack the south-west angle, had a longer distance to travel, they started first.

The main attack formed in three divisions, and composed of 312 European infantry, 30 gunners, 30 sailors, and 700 Sepoys, was to set out about half an hour later, but some

time was lost in waiting for the officer appointed to command it. Captain Callender (1) and eventually, the party started out without him. Captain Fischer then took command. The camp was left in charge of the Raja with orders to move on the ravelin the moment firing was heard, - it having been settled that neither attack should be made before midnight but that each party was free to act the moment the gongs of the fort should strike twelve. (2)

At exactly twelve o'clock Knox opened fire upon the south-west bastion, the Raja made an attack on the ravelin, and a little later the three divisions under Captains Fischer, Maclean and Yorke respectively stormed the northern face - Fischer gained his point, and Yorke's men seized the bastion from which the French had fired upon Maclean. One French detachment surrendered to Yorke and there now

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(1) Captain Callender was an officer of the Madras Army who had been sent to the Northern Circars by the Madras Council with orders to assume military command, if the Bengal troops succeeded in driving the French from the province. It appears that the Madras government feared that the Northern Circars might be taken under control of the Calcutta Council - Innes, p. 98, (note)

(2) Malleson, p. 99.

remained only one bastion. At this point nearly the whole plan was defeated by a cry of "A mine, a mine" and it was only after the hardest sort of work, that the men were induced to return to the attack. By the Raja's feeble attack one hundred of the French were drawn into the ravelin where they were isolated by Fischer's closing the gate.

Conflaus lost his head and increased the general confusion by sending out contradictory orders. In the excitement he had failed to distinguish the real from the false attack. Thinking that everything was lost, he proposed to Force to capitulate on honorable terms, but Force replied that the garrison must immediately lay down its arms and surrender unconditionally or be put to the sword. To this Conflaus acceded and the victory was complete.

the improbability of the attempt was the principal cause of its success, for the garrison of the fort from the beginning had regarded the siege with mockery and being in daily expectation of the arrival of a body of troops which were coming by sea from Pondicherry, had concerted that the

army of observation, joined by this reinforcement and a great detachment if not the whole of Salabat Jang's army, should then surround and attack the English army. (1)

But the victory was due to the courage and determination of Forde. In the attack he lost 32 Europeans killed including Captains Moltimore and Callender, and 62 wounded; 50 of the Sepoys were killed and 150 wounded. 120 pieces of cannon were taken, and the garrison which surrendered numbered 500 Europeans and 2537 natives. (2) When the capture was made Salabat Jang was only 15 miles away, and DU Roi's still nearer. (3)

On the 14th of May, Salabat Jang seeing that his position was rather untenable signed the following treaty:

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(1) Orme, p. 430.

(2) The authorities on the capture of Masulipatan are Malleson, p. 93-105; Cambridge, p. 210-212; with an excellent plan, Orme, vol. III, p. 479-489; Innes, p. 87-92 and Neill p. 167-168.

(3) Orme, p. 459, (vol. III)

Treaty with the Nizam.

A copy of Requests made by Colonel Forde to Nawab Salabat Jang, and his compliance thereto, in his own hand.

"The whole of the Circar of Masulipatam, with eight districts, as well as the Circar of Nizampatam, and the Condovâr and Macalmanner shall be given to the English Company as an Inam, or free gift, and the Sunnuas granted to them in the same manner as was done to the French.

The Nawab Salabat Jang will oblige the French troops which are in his country to pass the River Ganges within fifteen days; or send them to Pondicherry, or to any other place out of the Deccan country, on the other side of the river Kistna; in future he will not suffer them to have a settlement in this country, on any account whatsoever, nor keep them in his service, nor assist them, nor call them to his assistance.

The Nawab will not demand or call Rajapati Raz (Anandraz) to an account for what he has collected out of the Circars belonging to the French, nor for the computation of the revenues of his own country, in the present year;

but let him remain peaceable in future, and according to the computation of the revenues of his country, before the time of the French, agreeable to the custom of his grandfather and father and as was then paid to the Circar, and if he (the Raja) does not agree to it then the Nawab may do what he pleases. In all cases the Nawab will not assist the enemies of the English nor give them protection.

The English Company on their part will not assist the Nawab's enemies nor give them protection.

Dated, Moon Ramadan the 16th Hegira, 1172 which is the 14th of May 1759 .

I swear by God and his prophet and upon the Holy Alcoran that I with pleasure agree to the requests specified in this paper, and shall not deviate from it even an hairs breadth. (1)

On the 19th of April, Colonel Forde's report of the capture of Masulipatam, of which the following is a copy, was received at Madras-

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(1) Aitchison's Treaties, vol. 1, p 145-147.

"Gentlemen, - On the night between the 7th and 8th instant, I attacked Masulipatam, and after a very sharp conflict, had the good fortune to get possession of it. I have taken near 500 European prisoners, one hundred of which are officers, civilians, and ship people, the remainder are soldiers; My whole force consisted of 315 rank and file, 30 of which were volunteer seamen belonging to the "Hardwicke"; 21 of my people are killed and 60 wounded, and one seaman killed and five wounded.

I am of opinion this place should be kept in our hands as it is by far the strongest situation in India. My 1500 Sepoys behaved well; with one-half of them I made a false attack, and joined the other with the Europeans at the real attack; they mounted the ramparts with the Europeans, and behaved with great humanity after they had got in. I have lost great numbers of them both at the false and real attack. Captain Kallender is among the slain, as is Moideen Beg my Commandant of Sepoys

(Signed)

Francis Forde (1)

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(1) Wilson, p. 129-130.

By the cession of the Northern Circars was not the most important result obtained by the storming of Masulipatan , From the date of that capture the paramount influence at the court of Haiderabad was transferred from the French to the English. The victory of Ponda laid the foundation of that predominance at the court of the Nizam which, placed some forty years later on a definite basis by the Marquis Wellesley, exists at the present day. (1)

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(1) Malleson, p. 106.

CHAPTER III.

THE BATTLE OF BIDERRA.

From the year 1580 the Dutch had gradually obtained power and influence in East Indian Affairs. In 1646, they had planted an agency at Chinsuvah, and fourteen years later had obtained from the Portuguese the Malabar coast and the grant of Ceylon.

The capital of the Dutch in Asia lay not in the peninsula but was at Batavia, on the island of Java, where resided the Governor-General and the council of the Dutch Indies, to whom all the agents and councils of India and the few island provinces were subordinate. In Bengal, Chinsuvah was the headquarters of an agent presiding over all the other districts on that side of India. (1)

Fearing a catastrophe, similar to that which had over-

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(1) Malleson p. 109.

taken the English at Calcutta in 1756, would overtake them, the Dutch together with the French at Chaudarnagar, had purchased immunity from Siraj-ud-Daula. But since the defeat of that Prince, at Plassey in 1757, Mir Jafar the tool of the English had held the Nawabship of Bengal. From that time English influence had been steadily progressing, and Mir Jafar was being yoked more tightly. (1)

The English had become a necessity to him, but nevertheless he struggled under their control which he had brought upon himself. In vain he sought to remedy his position, until he was informed that the Dutch were as violently opposed to English advancement and power in Bengal as he was himself.

As a reward for English aid in internal as well as external troubles, many concessions had been made them by the Nawab which interfered seriously with Dutch trade.

Remonstrances by the Dutch were listened to by Mir Jafar; confidence followed with the result that the Dutch promised to procure from Batavia a sufficient force to drive

(1) Malleon, p. 110.

the English from Bengal, and the Nawab was to assist them. Owing to the threatened invasion of Shah Alaen into the provinces of Mir Jafar, the proposition was for the time being abandoned but after the danger seemed at an end, it was again taken up. In June 1759, Mir Jafar accompanied Clive to Calcutta, where he received information that the plans of the Dutch were nearing maturity. In the following October, he again visited Calcutta, ostensibly to confer with Clive but in reality to be near at hand when the Dutch struck the first blow.(1)

During the Nawab's visit, seven Dutch war ships filled with troops arrived at the mouth of the Hugli.

Clive had suspected that the Nawab was playing him false, but when the ships moved further up the river and the troops were landed, contrary to Mir Jafar's promises, and when it was learned that the Dutch agents were enlisting Sepoys at Chinsurah, Kasimbazar and Patna, with the connivance of the Nawab, there could be no doubt of the

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(1) Halleson, p. 112.

hostile intentions of both native and Dutch. (1)

The time chosen was a most favorable one from the Dutch standpoint, for all the English troops together with native regiments were scattered throughout the provinces, except 330 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys who formed the garrison of Fort William. (2)

The force on board the Dutch vessels, consisted of 700 European infantry, and 850 Malay's trained and fully equipped. At Chinsurah, the Dutch had 150 European infantry and artillery, and a number of Sepoys, who in event of a British disaster, would be quickly augmented by a part or even the whole of the Nawab's army.

Clive immediately sent orders to the outposts, for the European troops to march toward Calcutta at once. The Calcutta Militia about 300 strong, were called out, and about 50 volunteers, half of whom were formed into cavalry were added to the army. Admiral Cornish was

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(1) Bengal Europ. Regt. p. 95.

(2) Malleon, p. 112.

ordered to sail up the Huc-li, (1) the batteries which commanded the most important passages of the river near the town, Tannah fort and Charnocks battery were greatly strengthened as well as Fort William itself.

Just at this moment, Colonel Forde, accompanied by Captain Knox, returned from the Northern Circars, and to the gallant victor of Masulipatan, was assigned the command of the whole available force. (2)

Early in November, the Dutch had sent a threatening letter to the Calcutta Council, in which they demanded that the English should forgo any claim to right of search, and that Dutch vessels should be given free progress up the Huc-li. Clive responded to this in a diplomatic letter from the council containing the following sentence. " That the British in retaining the right of search, were acting under the order of the Emperor and the instructions received from the Viceroy, Mir Jafar, they therefore, had no power

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(1) Innes, p. 100.

(2) Malleson, p. 114.

to grant the request of the Dutch, but proffered its services and negotiations between the Dutch and the Emperor and the Viceroy" (1) On receiving this reply, the Dutch commander immediately attacked and captured seven (2) small British ships lying off the port of Falta, tore down the British flag, and captured the guns and stores. (3)

This saved Clive from all anxiety, for as Holland was an ally of England, he could not commence hostilities without the greatest responsibility. (4)

He immediately commanded Forde to take possession of Barnagar, to cross the river with his troops and four field pieces to Sevampore, the Dutch settlement.

After being done, Forde continued his march to Chandnagar, to prevent a junction between the Dutch troops on board their ships and those at Chinsurah.

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(1) Innes, p. 100.

(2) Malleson, p. 116.

(3) Innes, p. 100-101.

(4) Malleson, p. 116.

On the 24th of November, occurred a sharp naval engagement between the Dutch and English fleets, in the Hoogli, by which Clive succeeded in destroying the naval base of the invading army, while it was marching to join the forces at Chiusuvah, who were to effect a junction and supply the much needed artillery.

To do this, the Dutch commander at Chiusuvah determined to attempt to drive the British under Colonel Forde out of Chaudnager before their reinforcements, which had left Calcutta, could arrive.

On the evening of the 23d of November, the Dutch force left Chiusuvah, only three miles from Chaudnager, and occupied a position of the City of Chandnagar, to hinder the further progress of the British. (1)

On the morning of the 24th, Forde led his troops against the enemy, and though the numbers engaged were about equal, the result was never in doubt. Forde drove the Dutch from their position up to the very walls of Chursuvah, and captured the four guns, which would have been of such

(1) Innes, p. 103.

vital importance to the main army. The same evening Captain Knok arrived with 220 men of the Bengal European Regiment bringing Forde's force up to 320 Europeans Infantry, 80 European Artillerymen, with four field pieces and 800 Sepoys, together with the small troupe of European Volunteer Cavalry. The Nawab had placed about one hundred horsemen at Clive's disposal, not to fight but to spy, and with orders to allow the battle to be decided between the two armies and then to unite with the victors.

Forde now learned from prisoners he had taken, that the main Dutch army, under a French soldier of fortune Colonel Roussel was expected to reach Chinsurah early the next morning. He immediately sent to Clive telling him that if he were empowered to attack the army while on the way, he had a fair prospect of destroying the enemy.

(1) This message was delivered to Clive while he was playing cards. Without leaving the table, he wrote on the back of Forde's letter - "Dear Forde - Fight them immediately I will send you the order in Council to-morrow."

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(1) Malleson, p. 120.

When this reply reached Forde on the morning of the 25th, he immediately occupied a position, which he had selected, with great care on the previous day. It was at Biderra, about midway between Chaudarnagar and Chhisurah, a position which commanded the road to the latter place. On the British right was the village of Biderra which Forde at once occupied: in his front was a deep, broad, irregular ditch. Beyond this stretched a treeless plain, over which the Dutch army had to pass. (1)

At 10 A. M., the enemy was seen advancing across the plain. Upon seeing seeing the English forces they pressed rapidly on, but were soon checked by the hitherto unseen ditch. Much confusion ensued, as the men, ignorant of the obstacle pressed on, and Forde seized the opportunity of pouring in a heavy fire, both from the small arms, and from the artillery concealed in the grove where his left rested.

For a short time the Dutch stood their ground, but under the murderous fire they wavered. (2) Then Forde hurled his

(1) Millison, 121.

(2) Innes, p. 104-5.

cavalry, against them, who aided by the Nawab's cavalry, who had hitherto remained inactive, awaiting the outcome of the struggle, completed the defeat. No victory was ever more decisive, only, fourteen Dutchmen ever finding their way to Chiusiwah. (1)

The Dutch lost 120 Europeans and 200 Malays killed, and 300 wounded, with Colonel Bousset, 14 officers, 350 Europeans, and 200 Malays were made prisoners.

The English loss was trifling, due mainly, to the judicious selection of the field of battle. (2)

Thus did Force carry out perfectly, the policy of Clive. By riper, decision and daring, a danger greater than any which since January, 1757 had threatened the British settlement in Bengal, had been overthrown.

The conspiracy had been defeated by the calm decision of Clive, and by the gallantry, skill and daring of Force and those under him.

Three days after the battle, Miran, the son and heir

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(1) Malleson, p. 121.

(2) INNES, p. 155.

of the Nawab arrived at Murshedibad, with a force but firing the Dutch beaten, nothing would satisfy him, until they were exterminated.

Fearing these threats the Dutch implored aid from their conquerors, and Clive ordered Forde to cease all hostilities and brought about terms between the Dutch and the Nawab, but took great care that no opportunity should arise which would in any way allow the Dutch a chance to again open hostilities. (1)

But now as far as action takes place, Forde is completely lost sight of.

In the year which followed his gallant and daring victory over the Dutch, he set sail for England on February 5, 1760, in the Company, of Clive.

The latter obtained for his friend, the commission in the Company's army, which had been promised him in 1758, but in so doing, arose the great quarrel with Sullivan in the India House. This came about partly through Clive's

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(1) Walleson, p. 123-124.

advocacy of Forde for high military command, as opposed to the Sullivan candidate, Eyre Coote.

Forde remained ten years in England, until 1769, when upon Clive's recommendation he was appointed by the stockholders of the East India Company to be one of their supervisors who were to be sent to India (1) and invested with all the powers which the company themselves if present in India would possess— a power of superseding the operations, and suspending the authority of the President and councils; of investigating every department of the service and establishing such regulations as the interests of the company might seem to require. This scheme was opposed by no inconsiderable party, but it was finally decided that the supervisors with extraordinary powers were the very remedy, which the maladies of the Indian government required. (2)

With Forde were appointed as supervisors Henry Vansittard, M. P. finally Clive's successor in the government

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(1) Dict. Nat. Hist. - S. V. Forde.

(2) Ibid. vol. XIX, p. 427.

of Bengal and Mr. Luke Scriften. These men set sail from Portsmouth in September, 1769 in the Frigate "Aurora". They touched at the Cape of Good Hope on the 27th of December 1769, and were never heard of again.

(1)

Of Colonel Forde, Hallason, the recognised authority on Indian Military History, says:-

In spite of neglect, his name has descended to this generation, and it will descend to posterity as the name of a great Englishman, of one who nobly upheld the honor of his country, and who by the display of a calm and cool courage aided most materially in laying the foundation of the British Empire in India. (2)

And Colonel Innes, the Historian of the Bengal Fusiliers concludes his account of Forde's feats of arms with these words. "In the Bengal European Regiment Colonel Forde's name was a household word and his memory is ever held in love, honor and respect." (3)

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(1) Mills, vol. III, p. 428-429.

(2) Hallason, p. 107.

(3) Innes, p. 123.

LIFE

OF

GEORGE LORD PIGOT.

THESES

PRESENTED TO CORNELL UNIVERSITY FOR THE

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

INA BELLE POWLESLAND.

ITHACA, N. Y.

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CHAPTER 1.

FAMILY AND EARLY CAREER.

Sir George Pigot, governor of Madras, was born at Westminster on the 4th of March, 1719. The family^{1.} on his father's side claim to have numbered among their ancestors one of the knightly companions of William the Conqueror, a certain Gilbert Pigott, who became the founder of the Pigott house in Great Britain. A descendant of this Norman baron married the heiress of Chetwynd Park in Shropshire, and the estate thus secured remained in the family for more than three centuries. From the Pigotts of Chetwynd, two families claimed descent, an English and an Irish branch, both of which bore the "Ermine, three fusils, sable". To the English branch, Richard Pigot, the father of the subject of this sketch belonged. He married Frances Goode, a tire-woman of Queen Caroline and by her he had three sons and a daughter.

It is curious to observe that these three sons were all engaged in his Majesty's service. Hugh, the youngest, was in the navy and commanded the York at the reduction of Louisburg. He was also at Quebec in 1759 and

1. Burke's Extinct Peerage, pp 428-9.

succeeded Rodney as admiral, but his command was uneventful.

The second son, Robert, had entered the army when quite young and served in the thirty-first regiment, which so gallantly distinguished itself at the battle of Fontenoy. He became brigadier-general during the War of American Independence. He fought at Lexington and afterwards at Bunker Hill, where the bravery and firmness which he manifested in his command of the left wing of the army, led to his promotion, and he was made colonel of the thirty-eighth regiment.¹ In 1778, the year in which he succeeded his brother as second baronet of Patshull he was commissioned lieutenant-general and held command in Rhode Island.

George, the eldest son of Richard Pigot, entered the service of the East India Company at the age of eighteen and began his career as a writer at Madras in 1737.² He had arrived upon the theatre of action at a time when the French through the influence of able statesmen whom they had sent out to govern their possessions in Asia, were just awakening to the importance of firmly establishing themselves in India. Pondicherry, the French capital, became prosperous under the wise administration of

1. Debrett, Vol.1, p 587.

2. Prinsep, p XXVI.

Dumas and his successor Dupleix. They were men who thoroughly comprehended the situation in India and saw that it was only through great skill in dealing with the natives that France could hope to gain the ascendancy over England. With consummate tact, they began to intrigue with the Indian princes about them, and as a result war broke out in 1746 between the English and French for the control of the Carnatic.

During the period of discouragement that followed the failure of the English to bear aid to Muhammad Ali, the unfortunate Nawab of the Carnatic, to whom the French had set up a rival candidate, Mr. Pigot was acting as member of the Council of Fort St. David. In the summer of 1761, he was called to play an active part in the war. A detachment of eighty Europeans and three hundred sepoy^s with a large convoy of stores arrived from England, which the Presidency of Fort St. David determined to send to the relief of the forces at Trichinopoly. But the question arose as to who was to convey them thither. Every able officer was employed in the field and there was no one in the garrison who was competent for the task. In his perplexity, Governor Saunders turned to the Council and chose Mr. Pigot, who had the reputation of possessing great courage to conduct the recruits forward until they were outside of the enemy's country.

Clive accompanied Pigot, and the detachment succeed-

ed in surprising and dispersing the Polygar's forces and arrived safely at the confines of the country of Tanjore, from whence they proceeded to reinforce the battalion at Trichinopoly, while Pigot and Clive started to return to Fort St. David with a small escort of twelve sepoys and as many servants. They had not gone far, when they were attacked by a party of the Polygar's troops, armed with match locks, who killed seven of their men and dispersed the rest. It was only through the swiftness of their horses that Pigot and Clive succeeded in escaping from a body of cavalry, who pursued them.

CHAPTER 11.

FIRST GOVERNORSHIP OF FORT ST. GEORGE: DEFENCE OF
MADRAS AGAINST LALLY, 1758-9.

On the 14th of January 1758, Mr. Pigot succeeded Thomas Saunders as governor and commander-in-chief of Madras.¹ His position was not an easy one, for it was during this period that the French under Lally were continuing the ambitious schemes of Dupleix to expel the British from the Coromandel Coast and eventually from all India. In 1756, the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe, and the French were thus given a pretext for carrying on the strife within the boundaries of their Asiatic possessions.

Lally, the newly-appointed governor-general of the French in India, arrived at Pondicherry upon the 26th of April, 1758.² From the moment of his appearance upon the scene, the French cause was destined to ruin. Trained in the military tactics of Europe, he knew nothing of the strategic warfare of the East, yet with characteristic rashness, he plunged boldly into the campaign against the English. Upon the very eve of his arrival without any preparation or organization, he ordered the troops,

1. Prinsep, p XXX.

2. Hamont, p 75.

consisting of a few platoons of cavalry, seven hundred Europeans and three thousand seroys to advance against Fort St. David.^{1.} The French had little difficulty in reducing the fort, which was badly garrisoned by incompetent soldiers, who fired away night and day upon everything that they saw, heard or suspected.^{2.} As a consequence the ammunition of the English gave out, and upon the 2nd of June they were forced to surrender.

Lally returned in triumph to Pondicherry and immediately set to work to carry into execution the plan that he had long been aiming at, the reduction of Madras. The only obstacle in his way was a deficiency of funds. Now the French government had in its possession a bond, which had been given to Chanda Schib by the Rajah of Tanjore, and Lally determined to enforce the payment of it. He marched with his troops into the country of the Rajah, upon whose refusal to comply with his demand, he proceeded to attack Tanjore. The English however came to the aid of the Rajah and the French were forced to fall back to Pondicherry.^{3.}

Lally's next expedition against Arcot was more successful but did not improve the state of his finances. He determined to wait no longer but to undertake the siege of Madras at all events. He called a council and disclosed to them his plans. There was much

1. Hamont, p 78.

2. Orme, Vol. 11, p 310.

3. Vibart, Vol. 1, p 27.

opposition, but finally the matter was decided by Count D'Estaing, who declared that it was far nobler to die while fighting bravely before the walls of Madras than to perish miserably of hunger at Pondicherry.^{1.} Lally pledged 1,400,000 livres to defray the expenses of the expedition and D'Estaing succeeded in obtaining contribution to the amount of 54,000 rpees from among the officers. Although rapidity was one of the essential conditions of the success of the operation, the French troops were ordered to begin their march toward Madras at a time, when the roads were rendered almost impassable by the periodic rains.

Madras was situated upon the sea and consisted of two distinct settlements. The native population inhabited that portion of the city known as Black Town, whose only fortifications were a ditch and dismantled wall. The engineers had accumulated their works around Madras proper, where the European population resided. Fort St. George was situated in the center of a rectangular area surrounded by a bastionned inclosure, and after the capture of the town by La Bourdonnais, the fortifications had been strengthened by a rampart in the form of a horseshoe.^{2.}

When the news of Lally's design reached Madras, the President George Pigot and the Council immediately set to work to prepare for the defence of the city. The garrison was commanded by Colonel Stringer Lawrence, an

1. Hamont, pp 144, 145.
2. Hamont, pp145,147.

officer of great valor, to whom England owed most of her brilliant victories in India. The nominal defence of the city was entrusted to Governor Pigot. He showed himself equal to the task and in the **subsequent siege distinguished himself by the bravery and ability** which he manifested. He visited the works daily and paid especial attention to the commissaries. He encouraged the garrison and offered to divide 50,000 rupees among them after the defeat or retreat of the enemy.

Without the walls of Fort St. George, active preparations were made for the threatened siege.^{2.} The garrison at Chennaim was reinforced. Captain Calli-
 cuj was summoned from Trichinopoly and the Rajah of Tanjore was called for aid. At first this prince refused to give assistance, allying as a pretext the loss that he had experienced on account of the ravages committed in his territory by the French, but in reality because he believed the fortune of the **English to be on the decline.** Finally after promising four hundred horse on condition that their arrears were paid and breaking that promise as soon as he saw that its condition was able to be met, the Rajah was frightened by certain threats of the English that reached his ears and ordered the cavalry that had been demanded to march toward Fort St. George.^{3.}

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1. Vibart, Vol. 1, p 28.
 2. Macpherson, p 103.
 3. Orme, Vol. 11, p 440.

In the meantime on the 11th of December, 1758, the French army had appeared in sight of Madras. It consisted of three thousand five hundred Europeans, two thousand and sepoy^s and as many cavalry.^{1.} To oppose this force, the English had an army of one thousand seven hundred fifty eight Europeans, two thousand two hundred sepoy^s and two hundred horse belonging to the Nawab, which unfortunately could not be depended upon.^{2.} Upon the advance of the French, Lawrence, who had been stationed at Mount St. Thomas with a body of troops, was compelled to take refuge within the fort, and on the 14th of December, Lally took possession of Black Town.

When the French found themselves in the midst of an opulent and deserted town, they hastened to pillage it. Colonel Lawrence resolved to take advantage of the disorder of the enemy's troops and sent a detachment of six hundred men under Colonel Draper to attack them.^{3.} This sally was so quickly made that the French were completely surprised and mistook the column of the English at first for a body of their own soldiers; but they soon discovered their mistake and rushed to arms. A severe contest ensued in which Count D'Estaing was taken prisoner. The French were fast losing ground, when

1. Hamont, p 145.

2. Vibart, Vol. 1, p27.

3. Hamont, pp 148-151.

was due.

When the enemy began to erect works to the south and west of the fort and it was seen that they intended to fully invest the town, an attempt was made by the besieged to effect a junction with Preston, who was stationed with a body of troops at Vendalur, a few miles from Fort St. George.^{1.} This plan failed. On account of the misconduct of his cavalry, Preston was unable to unite his troops with those of the garrison south of Madras, and was obliged to march to Arcot to secure a stronger force. Governor Pigot heard of this movement, but with his usual prudence, he kept the knowledge to himself in order that the soldiers might not be discouraged.

The siege continued, but Lally's position was becoming more and more untenable. Major Calliaud had taken command of the forces outside of Madras, which consisted of six hundred Europeans, one thousand five hundred sepoy and two thousand native cavalry and employed them in cutting off the French supplies from Pondicherry and in harassing the besiegers. It became necessary for Lally to make an attempt to dislodge these troublesome enemies, who were stationed at the Mount. Accordingly upon the 9th of February, a detachment of six hundred Europeans, four hundred horse and one thousand Marathas were sent against them.^{2.} The contest was maintained for twelve

1. Vibart, Vol. 1, p 33.

2. Hamont, p 160.

Lally galloped upon the scene of battle and with a shout led his men back into the fray. But the English grenadiers stood firm as a wall. Then Lally ordered the cavalry to attack the enemy upon the flanks, while the strength of the battalions of India and Lorraine were hurled against the English center. The English were forced to yield and retreated, leaving two hundred men dead upon the field of battle. But a few days later the garrison was greatly encouraged by the news of Colonel Forde's complete victory over the French in the Northern Circars.^{1.}

Although Lally had not sufficient means with which to carry on a siege, he constructed his batteries and upon the 2nd of January 1759, the trenches were opened.^{2.} After the fire from the French had continued for about a week the fortification of the town began to get seriously damaged and it became necessary to appoint a special body of skilled workmen from among the troops, whose duty it was to attend to the repair of the works. This force of about fifty men was called the European Pioneer Company and was under the guidance of the chief-engineer, Captain Call to whom much of the success of the siege of Madras

1. Vibart, Vol. 1, p 29 .

2. For a more detailed account of the siege, consult Hament, pp 152-168; Vibart, Vol. 1, pp30-40; Malleon, History of the French in India, pp 534-546.

hours but finally resulted in the retreat of the French from the field of battle, just as the English ammunition was giving out.

After Lally had carried on the siege for about two months he became anxious to storm the city, but his officers refused to support him in this project. His supplies were getting low and his soldiers were ready to revolt. Entire bands of deserters went over to the English lines. These traitors mounted the ramparts of Madras and cried to their comrades to follow their example and enter the service of England, in which the soldiers were well paid and the officers competent for their commands.^{1.}

Lally saw that he must abandon the siege, but he determined to burn Black Town. He was prevented from gratifying his vengeance by the arrival of Admiral Pocock with a fleet of six ships to aid the English. On the 17th of February, the French army was in full retreat toward Pondicherry. They had expended vast quantities of ammunition during the siege and had lost about fifteen hundred Europeans.^{2.}

The loss of the English was six hundred and ten Europeans and more than twice as many sepoys.^{2.} The garrison had been shut up in the fort sixty-seven days

1. Hamont, pp 150, 161.

2. Vibart, Vol. 1, p 39.

and the shells of the enemy had wrought havoc with the Company's garden houses and the residences of the European population. Governor Pigot ordered the chief-engineer Captain Call to go to work immediately to repair the fort, and he himself proceeded to evolve order out of the ruin that had attended the war and to restore Madras to its former state of peace and prosperity.

Colonel Lawrence, who had been in charge of the forces, was compelled to resign on account of ill-health, and Major Brereton was entrusted with the command of the army. He was eventually succeeded by Sir Eyre Coote who won a great victory over the French at Wandewash upon the 22nd of January 1760 and forced them to take refuge within the walls of Pondicherry. Coote then proceeded to besiege the city for the remainder of the year. Lally in his desperation tried to extricate himself by entering into a treaty of alliance with Haider Ali.¹ This adventurer had effected a revolution in Mysore, which had placed him on the throne: and in order to fortify himself against future reverses, he wished to secure a place of retreat. Lally promised him the Carnatic, if he would send a force to the relief of the French at Pondicherry. His assistance came too late. The inhabitants were reduced to the verge of starvation and surrendered to Coote² upon the 16th of January 1761.

1. Macpherson, p 109.

2. Ibid , p 110.

Four days after the surrender a dispute arose as to the question into whose hands the city should be delivered. Coote with the principal officers of the army decided that it ought to be held for the disposal of the Crown. Governor Pigot, who had been at Pondicherry during the latter part of the siege, demanded that it be given over to him as the property of the East India Company.¹ Serious consequences might have resulted if the military authorities had persisted in their determination; for Gov. Pigot with a daring which amounted almost to recklessness in the face of a large army and fleet, declared that he would furnish no money to the troops or French prisoners unless his demand was complied with. The army submitted and Pondicherry was handed over to him.

The fall of this city ended a war, which had been carried on for fifteen years between the English and the French for the supremacy in India. During the first period of the war under the wise policy of Dupleix and Bussy, the French had been uniformly successful. But a fatal step was taken when the Court of Versailles recalled Dupleix, and with the succession of Lally the rapid decline of the French cause became inevitable. On the other hand the English had profited by the loss of Madras in 1746; and when the town was restored to them by the Treaty

1. Mill, edited by Wilson, Vol. III, p 253.

of Aix-La-Chapelle in 1748, they immediately set to work to strengthen its fortifications under the direction of Captain Call, one of the ablest engineers of this period. Not only was the military situation improved, but a distinct advance was made in the civil administration when the direction of affairs at Madras passed from the hands of the worthy but inefficient Mr. Saunders into those of Mr. Pigot, under whose able government the success of the English arms was ultimately established in India.

CHAPTER 111.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF FORT ST. GEORGE FROM
1760 to 1763.

After the English had succeeded in expelling the French from the Carnatic, they turned their attention to its internal affairs, which were in a deplorable condition on account of the ravages of the war and the weak rule of Muhammad Ali, who was Nawab at the time. He had been of little assistance to the English during the late struggle and his cavalry had failed them at the most critical moments. Although he was entirely dependent upon the Presidency of Madras for support, yet he regarded himself as absolute in his dominions; and the English had done much to strengthen him in this view, for throughout the war they had repeatedly declared that they were fighting solely in his interest.

On the 13th of June 1760, the Nawab wrote a letter to Governor Pigot, in which he made the following proposition:^{1.} to pay twenty-eight lakhs of rupees annually to the government of Madras, until the debt for which he had become responsible during the war should be discharged; to contribute yearly three lakhs of rupees toward the support of the garrison at Trichinopoly. Should Pondicherry be reduced, he would meet the whole debt within a

1. Macpherson, pp 114,115.

year on condition that the English would consent to assist him with a force in subduing and exacting tribute from his rebellious subjects. If any of the territory between the Vellore and the Tinnevely should be ravaged by the French or the Marathas, he would expect the Company to deduct the amount of loss, caused by such plundering from the twenty-eight lakhs of rupees.

In return for his assistance, the English were to show by unmistakable signs their disapproval of any disturbance on the part of his tributaries, who were to be informed of their present agreement by Governor Pigot.^{1.} In regard to his revenue, the Company's officers were to aid in the collection if necessary and were not to demand any share of the sums, which he received from the Polygars or county nobles and the Killadars or governors of the forts. He further desired that his flag instead of that of the English should be hoisted in the different forts within his territories, and that the Company's officers in the garrisons should receive orders, not to attempt to play any part in the internal government of the Carnatic nor in the disputes of its inhabitants. No persons, who held offices of trust under the Nawab, were to be taken into the Company's service. He concluded his letter by asking for a fresh pledge of the friendship of

1. Macpherson, p 115.

the English for himself and his children.

The treasury of Madras had been exhausted by the long war that had been waged with the French and funds must be obtained from some source for the support of the government. Without entering into discussion concerning the conditions required by the Nawab, Governor Pigot assented to his proposal.

In his answer to Muhammad Ali, he promised not to give protection to anyone opposed to the interests of the Carnatic and to send letters to the various dependants of the Nawab to inform them of the arrangements which had been concluded between the English and their ally. He expressed his satisfaction with the terms of the agreement in the following words addressed to the Nawab: " I have entire confidence in your sincerity, and I am fully persuaded that the sum, which you have proposed to assign to the Company, is as great as your present circumstances will allow."¹ Yet in spite of this declaration, the need of funds became so urgent at Madras that within a few months the President and Council called for fifty lakhs of rupees instead of the sum specified in the agreement. In vain, the Nawab pleaded that he was unable to meet the demand made upon him. The English pressed him for its payment and he was forced to raise the money by loans.²

1. Mr. Pigot's Letter to the Nawab, June 23, 1760. Original Papers, pp 44-48.

2. Macpherson, p 116.

After the French surrendered to the English at Pondicherry, the expenses of the siege devolved upon the Nawab, who had agreed to take the responsibility of paying them upon condition that he might receive the stores found in the city. The event had a different issue from what he had expected. When Pondicherry was captured, the English appropriated the stores for themselves but promised to make a deduction for them in the Nawab's account. When the Company heard of this promise, they were displeased and refused to allow Muhammad Ali anything, although they permitted their servants to retain the stores.^{1.}

Many of those, whom the Nawab claimed as his tributaries, had taken advantage of the recent troubles in the Carnatic and had gone over to the side of the enemy or refused to pay their tribute, Muhammed Ali resolved to bring these rebellious subjects to justice and determined to undertake an expedition against them. The most important of these were the Pelygars on the north and the Marawars on the south, which with Tanjore were separate principalities and were in no way pleased to regard themselves as under the permanent subjection of the Nawab. They had never been made a part of the Mughal Empire and paid tribute only when they were forced to do so by the strength of their more powerful neighbors.^{2.}

1. Sir John Lindsay's Narrative, Oct. 13, 1770, Secretary of State's Office,- quoted by Macpherson, p 116.

2. Auber, Vol. 1, p 318.

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Muhammed Ali realized that his resources were too slender and his army too weak to subdue his enemies without assistance from some source. He turned to his allies at Madras and besought their aid. The English had engaged in war for fifteen years and felt that a period of peace was necessary to recover their former prosperity. Therefore the Council decided not to aid in the Nawab's expedition, but in order to pacify him they directed Governor Pigot to write a circular letter to the dependants of the Carnatic, ordering them to submit to the authority of Muhammad Ali.^{1.} The letter was written and in the month of July 1760, Governor Pigot wrote to the Nawab's wife, expressing the sentiments of the English to her in the following words: "By the blessing of God, the whole Carnatic is entirely and firmly established in the Nabob and his posterity. As long as the English settlements remain in Hindostan, the Company's people are diligently to use their endeavors in promoting and assisting the affairs of the Carnatic in its obedience to the Nabob."^{2.}

It was not until the summer of 1761 upon the renewal of the demands of Muhammad Ali that the English consented to give him any direct aid.^{3.} At this time he contemplated an expedition against Mortaz Ali, who was in possession of the strong fortress of Vellore and had

¹Governor Pigot's General Letter, quoted by Macpherson, p118.

^{2.} Mr. Pigot's Letter to the Nawab's Wife, dated July 1, 1760, Original Papers, pp 50, 51.

^{3.} Macpherson, p 119.

refused to pay tribute. The reduction of Vellore was undertaken by the joint forces of the English and the Nawab, but it was no easy task. Mortaz-Ali successfully resisted their attempts to capture the fortress for three months and surrendered only after the conquest had cost the English a vast amount of labor and money.^{1.}

In the month of August 1761, Muhammad Ali again asked for the assistance of the English against the Rajah of Tanjore, who it was claimed had availed himself of the late troubles in the Carnatic to evade the payment of his tribute and had aided the Nawab only once during the war at the siege of Trichinopoly, when he was induced to do so by a promise of some exemption in the arrears of the sum which he owed to Muhammad Ali.^{2.}

Tanjore was a rich country, which had not been devastated by the ravages of foreign armies, and Muhammad Ali had already conceived the project of adding it to his dominions. This design was the keynote of his future policy and influenced it in great measure. Mr. Pigot did not care to repeat the experiment of Vellore and moreover saw that it was not to the interest of the English to allow the Nawab to become too powerful on the Coromandel Coast. He refused to aid Muhammad Ali in the conquest of Tanjore and recommended a peaceable settlement of the difficulties

1. Macpherson, p 119.

2. Ibid, pp 119,120.

between the Nawab and the Rajah. He offered his services as mediator, and for this action Mr. Pigot has been censured. It has been claimed that a subject of the Mughal Empire had no right to act as mediator in disputes, that were between states, one of which was dependent upon the other. Mr. Pigot did not regard the Rajah as merely the subordinate agent of the Nawab and gave his view of the case in a letter addressed to Muhammad Ali, May 31, 1762. He says:

" I consider the king of Tanjore as a sovereign prince, and it is a custom when two states disagree to call in a third to judge between them. I offer myself as such and therefore the treaty must be concluded by me."^{1.}

Without further discussion, Governor Pigot sent Mr. Du Pre as agent to Tanjore to give both parties a hearing and to bring their affairs to a peaceable settlement. He found that Pratapa Sinha, who was Rajah at this time, had failed to pay the tribute to Muhammad Ali for many years; but on the other hand a deduction for the amount due on ten of those years had been promised by the Nawab upon condition that the Rajah would give his assistance during the late war, which Muhammad Ali claimed that he had never heartily done.^{2.}

A treaty was dictated by Mr. Pigot, which was signed upon the 20th of September 1762. Its terms were as follows:^{3.}

the Nawab was to receive from the Rajah as arrears of tri-

1. Mr. Pigot's letter to the Nawab, May 31, 1762, quoted by Macpherson, p 124.
 2. Macpherson, p 125.
 3. Aitchison, Vol. V, pp 367-9.

bute twenty-two lakhs of rupees, which were to be paid in five installments: also four lakhs annually in the month of July as Peshkush and Durbar charges. In addition to these sums, the Rajah agreed to give five lakhs as a present but desired that one of these lakhs should be deducted for his officers. By the terms of this treaty, Pratapa Sinha was to have the districts of Koiladi and Elangad ceded to him, and his protegee, Trimul Rao, who had been deprived of his position as Killadar of Arni, was to be restored. The President and Council made themselves guarantors of the treaty and presented it to the Nawab for his signature. He was highly dissatisfied with its terms. It is said that he refused to subscribe to them, and that Mr. Pigot was obliged to seize his seal, and apply it with his own hands.^{1.}

However the case may be, the President and Council fully realized that the term of the Treaty were inadequate to the claims of the Nawab, but they gave good and valid reasons for enforcing them upon him in their letter to the Court of Directors, dated November 9, 1762, in which they showed the expediency of preserving the peace in the Carnatic.^{2.} They said that the English at Madras were not

1. Stated on the authority of the Nawab's letter to Mr. Palk, Oct. 8, 1776; Macpherson says that General Lawrence, Mr. Bouchier and particularly Colonel Call and Mr. Palk were either present at the transaction or were convinced of the truth of it from the incontestible information, given by others as well as the Nawab.

2. Letter from the President and Council of Madras to the Court of Directors, Nov. 9, 1762, -quoted by Macpherson, p 128.

in possession either of a strong enough force nor sufficient funds to join in an expedition of the Nawab against the Rajah; and moreover, their rupture with a prince as powerful as Pratapa Sinha might result disastrously and involve them in a war with other Indian princes. As to the dissatisfaction of the Nawab, it was unreasonable since he would have received nothing without their intervention. The Treaty on the whole was a wise measure and was enacted with the best of motives.

After this, affairs went more smoothly for a time. The Nawab handed over to the Company the twenty-two lakhs of rupees paid him by the Rajah, and credit was given for them in his account.

In 1763, the great European conflict, known in history as the Seven Years' War, was brought to a close by the signature of the Treaty of Paris, in the eleventh article of which, the Indian question was definitely settled.¹ Great Britain was to restore to France the various factories in India, possessed by the French at the beginning of the year 1749. France renounced all claims to the conquests, which she had made during the war on the Coromandel Coast and in Orissa, and agreed neither to quarter troops nor to erect fortifications within the province of Bengal. Muhammad Ali was acknowledged by both the English and the French as the lawful ruler of the Carnatic. He was the first Indian chief,

1. Martens, Vol. 1, pp 112, 113.

who had been mentioned as an ally in a European treaty with the exception of the Nizam, who was mentioned in the same article, and he was not immediately informed of the new dignity, which had been conferred upon him, because the English feared that it might give him an undue sense of his authority.

Before returning to England, Governor Pigot was anxious that the Nawab should make a grant of lands to the Company, from which they could collect the revenues. Muhammad Ali tried to evade this demand and pleaded as an excuse the burden of debt which he sustained. The Governor answered that on account of the weakness of the Nawab, the defence of the Carnatic must fall upon the English, who were not able to defend it without an army: and in order to sustain an army, revenue was necessary. At first Mr. Pigot asked for a grant of certain villages around Madras, to be given only after the Nawab's debt to the Company was discharged. But at a later interview, he urged Muhammad Ali to give four districts to the Company, among them ^{1.} Conjaveran. The Nawab objected to this increased demand, but Mr. Pigot assured him that if he would make the grant of territory, the Company would ask nothing more from him, and would assist him if necessary with a proper force of Europeans; also, until his debts were discharged, he should receive the revenue from the ceded lands, which re-

1. Macpherson, p 135.

mained after the soldiers were paid for their services.^{1.}

Muhammad Ali wished to secure a written promise that these conditions would be fulfilled and sent a draught of the agreement to Madras to be signed. Mr. Pigot refused to sign it and returned it with a letter, in which he reminded the Nawab of his obligations to the English and that it ill became him to dictate terms to the Company.^{2.}

The districts were granted with the privileges reserved to Muhammad Ali of renting them in order to preserve appearances with his subjects.

In October 1763, Mr. Pigot resigned his office and returned to England. His career in India had reflected honor upon himself and the Company. He had filled the position of governor of Madras at a most critical period in the history of the English on the Coromandel Coast, and by his brave defence of Fort St. George, had given an effectual check to the schemes of the French in India. In his civil administration, he had pursued a wise policy. After the war between the English and the French had terminated, he had sought to restore Madras to its former prosperity. He understood that a period of peace was necessary for its material development, and with the exception of the conquest of Vellore, he refused to embark in the Nawab's schemes for war. By the Treaty of 1762, he established peace in the Carnatic and thwarted for a period of several

1. Fous's Appendix, p 161 is authority given by Macpherson for his statement in regard to the matter.

2. Mr. Pigot's Letter to the Nawab, Aug. 13, 1763, quoted by Mill

years Muhammad Ali's project under his rule, which the Company believed would give him too much power and would be detrimental to their best interests. He improved the financial condition of the Company at Madras by obtaining a grant of lands from the Nawab, which would yield a good revenue and enable the English to maintain an army for their defence. Although his measures in regard to Muhammad Ali have been censured, they appear to have been dictated by a sincere desire to advance the Company's interests on the Coromandel Coast. He parted with the Nawab on terms of apparent friendship and received from him a princely memorial of his regard¹. In short his private character and successful administration of the government of Madras had won for him universal respect and esteem.

1. Considerations, p 6.

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE IN ENGLAND FROM 1763 TO 1775.

Toward the close of the year 1763, Mr. Pigot found himself again upon the shores of his native land. The fame of his gallant defence of Madras had preceded him, and upon his return he received many tokens of public favor. His fortune, which had been amassed by lending money at a high rate of interest to the Nawab of the Carnatic and the chiefs and managers of the provinces, was estimated at £400,000^{1.} and gave him considerable influence in England. On the 5th of December 1764, he was created a baronet with remainder to his brothers Robert and Hugh and their male issue.^{2.} A little later on the 15th of January 1765, he was elected to the House of Commons as member for Wallingford in Berkshire to fill a vacancy,^{3.} which had been caused by the death of John Hervey. One honor followed closely upon another, and January 18, 1766 he was raised to the dignity of an Irish peer. He was made Baron Pigot of Patshull, a very rich estate, for which he is said to have paid £100,000,^{4.} At the general election

1. Mr. Watts is the authority given for this statement by Malcolm, Vol. 11, p 251. This manner of procuring wealth was not considered discreditable at the time that Lord Pigot was in India, although it was afterwards shown to be a source of great injury to the Company's interests.
 2. Foster, p 500. (p,123.
 3. Official Return of Lists of Members of Parliament, pt.11,
 4. Die. Nat. Biog.Vol.X LV, p 280.

of 1768, he transferred his seat in the House of Commons for Wallingford to his brother Robert and was returned himself for Bridgnorth in Shropshire,^{1.} for which borough he continued to sit until his death, when his brother Hugh was elected to fill his place. Upon the 3d of July 1769, he had the honorary title of Doctor of Civil Law conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge.

After Lord Pigot had been in England for twelve years, he manifested a desire to return to India. During the latter part of his first governorship of Madras, his attention had been almost wholly engrossed by difficulties in regard to the internal government of the Carnatic and the relations existing between the Nawab and other native princes, particularly the Rajah of Tanjore. An attempt had been made to settle these troublesome questions both in the favorite measure of Mr. Pigot's administration, the Treaty of 1762 and in the eleventh^u article of the Treaty of Paris, but an effectual solution of these troubles seemed impossible under the existing form of government in the Carnatic. At Calcutta, the President and Council had taken upon themselves the financial administration of the territories of the natives in Bengal, at the same time guaranteeing to protect them from foreign invasion.^{2.} But at Madras the English possessed only a small district of land which they held under what is called a jaghire tenure in

1. Official Return of Lists of Members of Parliament, pt. 2. Auber, Vol. 1, p 146.

India. Over the greater part of the Carnatic, they had always professed to acknowledge the undisputed sway of Muhammad Ali, both in the civil and financial administrations.¹ This involved continual difficulties on the part of the English, for the Nawab was a weak prince and was unable to protect his dominions from his enemies, and the government of Madras gradually assumed the military defence of the Carnatic. In a letter from the Court of Directors to the Council in 1765, they were urged to keep the principle forts of Muhammad Ali in their hands; however strenuous his objections might be.² In order to support an army for the defence of the country, revenue was necessary, but the Nawab was a poor administrator and had constant recourse to a system of loans, which soon proved destructive to the highest interests of the Company on the Coromandel Coast.

The complication of affairs was increased by a war waged between the English at Madras and Haider Ali, the ruler of Mysore. After hostilities had continued for about three years, a treaty was finally concluded in 1769, which was not highly creditable to the English; for Haider Ali was allowed to retain all of his conquests, and a compact was made that in case either of the contracting parties should be attacked, the other should come forward with

1. Macpherson, p 125.

2. Letter from the Directors to the Presidency of Madras, dated December 21, 1765,—quoted by Mill.

1.

assistance.

In July 1770 another difficulty was added to the situation at Madras, by the arrival of Sir John Lindsay, who had been sent out to India as Minister Plenipotentiary of the Crown to look after the execution of the eleventh article of the Treaty of Paris.^{2.} This measure had been taken without the knowledge of the Company and was to be productive of much trouble in the Carnatic. Sir John Lindsay began his unwise policy at Madras by ordering the President and Council to appear in his train, when he went to deliver the King's presents to the Nawah. They refused to comply with his demand for the reason that it would degrade them in the eyes of the natives and lessen their power in the Carnatic.

Muhammad Ali was not slow to perceive the growing enmity between the English Minister and the Company's servants, and he resolved to take advantage of it. He poured forth accusations of corruption and injustice against the President and Council of Madras.^{3.} Letters were written to England, which were filled with invectives against the alleged oppressors. Sir John Lindsay lent a ready ear to all of his complaints, and by constantly emphasizing the importance of his position as defined by the eleventh article of the Treaty of Paris, succeeded in inspiring him with an undue sense

1. Mull-son, Life of Warren Hastings, p 87.

2. Macpherson, p 171.

3. Ibid, p 174.

1.
of his power and authority. The influence of his English creditors tended in the same direction, for it was to their interest that he should be all powerful, and Warren Hastings, who was second in the Council of Madras for a time, said that the facilitating of the payment of his debts was often urged by him as an inducement for the Board among whom he had many creditors, to consent to his demands.
2.

From time to time Muhammad Ali sought to involve the Government of Madras in war. In 1770, the Marathas invaded the country of Haider Ali and endeavored to use their influence with the Nawab to secure the assistance of the English. 3. The President and Council of Madras refused to aid them, for by the terms of the treaty of 1769, they had no right to do so. Sir John Lindsay urged Muhammad Ali to persist in his demands for an alliance between the English and the Marathas, and the results might have been fatal to the interests of the settlement if the Minister of the Crown had not been fortunately recalled at this time. He was succeeded by Sir Robert Harland, who did not arrive in India until September 1771.
4.

A few months previous to his arrival, the Rajah of

-
1. Warren Hastings's Letter to Lawrence Sullivan, dated February 10, 1772, - quoted by Gleig, Vol. 1, pp 181, 182.
 2. Letter of Warren Hastings to Sir G. Colebrooke, dated February 15, 1772, - quoted by Gleig, Vol. 1, p 193.
 3. Auber, Vol. 1, 290.
 - 4 Ibid, Vol. 1, p 308.

Tanjore had undertaken an expedition against the Marawars, under the pretext that certain districts which belonged to him, had been seized by their chief.^{1.} The Nawab resisted the claim of the Rajah and declared that he had no right to make war upon a tributary to the government of the Carnatic. The President and Council of Madras were asked to lend their assistance in an attack upon the Rajah. They were placed in a difficult position. The Nawab was their acknowledged ally, yet as far as his claims and those of the Rajah upon the Marawar country were concerned, they understood that it was largely a question of power, which was the only arbiter of right in India. Even if the validity of Muhammad Ali's claims was recognized, the Select Committee of Madras declared themselves unwilling to assist in subverting any established government in India with whom the Company were in any way connected. They realized that it would be an unwise stroke of policy to allow Muhammad Ali to gain possession of the country of Tanjore.^{2.}

Nevertheless they left the Nawab, who was the bitter enemy of the Rajah, to negotiate with him, and the final outcome was an expedition against Tanjore in which Muhammad Ali was aided by the English.^{3.} The place was besieged in September but a sudden peace was concluded on the

1. Macpherson, p 179.

2. Auber, Vol. 1, p 521.

3. Considerations, p 23.

27th of October between the Rajah and the Nawab, in which the Company had no part. A few months later through the help of the English, Muhammad Ali was placed in the undisputed possession of the Marwar country.

On the 2nd of February 1773, Mr. Bynch succeeded to the governorship of Madras,^{1.} and under his administration, the Nawab succeeded in carrying out his long-projected scheme of conquering Tanjore. The new governor had no sooner resumed office than complaints were brought to him that the Rajah was intriguing with the Marathas and Haider Ali against the Nawab. That there was some excuse for this action on his part, the Government of Madras acknowledged, for there was no doubt but that he had cause to be apprehensive of the designs of Muhammad Ali upon his territories. Yet the President and Council, alleging as one of the prime motives of their action, the fact that it was dangerous to have a power in league with their enemies fully established in the Carnatic, determined to begin hostilities against the Rajah. In August 1773, Tanjore was besieged by a combined force of the English and Nawab's troops and was forced to surrender on the 17th of September.^{2.} The Rajah and his family were taken prisoners by Muhammad Ali into whose hands the dominions of Tanjore were transferred.

1. Principles, p. XXX.

2. For a detailed account of the expedition against the Rajah, consult Macpherson, pp. 222-8.

During the period of these transactions, no instructions had been sent by the Company to their servants at Madras and their silence has been interpreted as giving their consent to the measures of the President and Council.^{1.} The failure of the Court of Directors to intervene in India during this period has been attributed to the fact that questions of momentous importance were engrossing their attention at home, which resulted in a complete change of their constitution in the Regulating Act of 1773.^{2.} Just as soon as these matters were adjusted, they turned their attention to the Tanjore question, and early in the spring of 1775 they made their report upon the same.

They determined to remove Mr. Wynch and began to look for some one to fill his place. The Court of Directors by a small majority declared for Mr. Rumbold, but their decision was reversed by the Court of Proprietors who chose Lord Pigot.^{3.} Macpherson says that the resolution relative to the restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore originated in the appointment of Lord Pigot to the governorship of Madras;^{4.} that the orders, in regard to the policy to be pursued toward the Nawab and the Rajah, were penned under his inspection, and that they laid upon the table for several days before the proper number of signatures

1. Macpherson, pp 229-231.

2. "The Restoration of the King of Tanjore", considered in reply to the "Statement of Facts", quoted by Mr. Mill, IV, pl 11

3. Macpherson, p 255-4.

4. Ibid, p 262.

could be obtained; and that only when Lord Pigot threatened to resign were the names necessary for their ratification^{1.} obtained upon the 18th of April 1775.

The above statement is hardly fair, for a great body of the Directors had perceived that it was to their interest to maintain a due balance between the rival powers of the Nawab and the Rajah and had manifested their disapproval of the recent proceedings of their servants at Madras by the dismissal of Governor Wynch and the reprimanding of his Council. That Lord Pigot was in favor of strong measures for the restoration of the Rajah and that he used his influence to that end, there can be little doubt: for the favorite act of his former administration at Madras had been the Treaty of 1762, which was declared isolated by the recent dispossessing of the Rajah of his powers. Without resigning his seat in Parliament and with the evident intention of returning to England as soon as he had executed the orders of the Company in regard to the restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore, Lord Pigot sailed for India.

1. Macpherson, pp 268-9.

CHAPTER V.

SECOND GOVERNORSHIP OF FORT ST. GEORGE, 1775-6.

DEPOSITION, ARREST AND DEATH.

Lord Pigot arrived at Madras upon the 11th of December 1775 and immediately resumed his duties as governor.¹ He had a difficult task before him: but his knowledge of affairs at Madras, his reputation for undaunted courage and uncorrupted integrity and the great influence, which his fortune and connections had given him with the Company, seemed to mark him as the man eminently fitted for the role, he was called upon to play. He turned his attention at once to the execution of the orders of the Directors for the restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore to the territories of which he had been dispossessed. The Council advised that as much tact and delicacy as possible be employed in communicating the instructions of the Company to the Nawab of the Carnatic, in order that he might submit without struggle to the will of the Directors, that the territories, which he had seized, be transferred from his hands to those of their lawful owner.

There was no open resistance at first on the part of Mahanuda Ali.² When Lord Pigot informed him that it was the pleasure of the Company that he should restore

1. Prinsep, p XXX.

2. Trial, p 104.

Tanjore to the Rajah, he suggested that on account of the many groundless reports, which had reached the ears of the Directors in England, it would be well to wait until a more thorough understanding of the case was arrived at and fresh orders were received. In the meantime, he would consent to receive an English garrison into the fort of Tanjore. Lord Pigot answered that the case would admit of no delay, and upon the 3th of February, 1776, the Company's troops took possession of Tanjore, and the Rajah was set at liberty.^{1.}

It was yet necessary to place him in possession of the revenues of the country, which consisted of the grain growing upon the land. On account of the advanced season of the year, the crop was about ready to be harvested, and prompt action was demanded in order to prevent the Nawab from reaping the benefits of it and thus substantially remaining in possession of the revenues of Tanjore for the current year. Accordingly, it was resolved by the Council that Lord Pigot should proceed to Tanjore to restore the Rajah to the full and uninterrupted possession of his country, the crop not admitting of further delay.^{2.}

Accompanied by two members of the Council, Mr. Jourdan and Mr. Dalrymple, Lord Pigot set out to fulfil the orders of the Company, and upon the 11th of April, three days

1. Trial, p 1070.

2. Ibid, p 1071.

after his arrival at Tanjore, he proclaimed the restoration of the Rajah. The Nawab asked that he might be allowed to collect the revenues upon the grain for that year in order to discharge his debts in Tanjore, but his request was refused by Lord Pigot. He took the matter calmly, and showed no signs of open resistance to the transactions which were going on, yet all the time he was industriously by means of letters and other devices to enlist the sympathies of influential individuals in the Company's service on his side. The terms which Lord Pigot secured from the Rajah, were advantageous to the English. The Rajah promised to contribute fourteen lakhs of rupees annually for the maintenance of the Company's troops, also a tract of land about the fort of Devi-kota.^{1.}

Lord Pigot returned to the Council and placed before them a journal of his proceedings at Tanjore, which was approved by all the members except Mackay.^{2.} He objected to Lord Pigot's action in seizing, as he supposed, a servant of the Rajah, but who was in fact the auditor-general of the Nawab's country. He also condemned the punishment of a person belonging to one of the principal castes of the country, who had been whipped upon the public parade by order of the Governor and had thus lost his caste. Lord Pigot justified himself in this action by stating that the man, upon whom he had inflicted this public disgrace,

Cont. Reg. 1776, pp. 21, Article upon Defence of Lord Pigot
2. Trial, p. 1073. (by G. Rous.

had intruded himself upon the Rajah late at night and under circumstances which pointed to suspicious designs on his part.

Just before Lord Pigot had set out for Tanjore, a slight mention had been made of the claims of a certain Paul Benfield upon the revenues of the country of Tanjore.¹ In order to understand the nature of these claims, it will be necessary to give some idea of the relations existing between the Nawab and his creditors at this time. Instead of establishing his seat of government within his own dominion, Muhammad Ali had taken up his residence in the suburbs of Madras, and thence it was claimed that he was constantly intriguing with the servants of the Company and ready to take advantage of any disputes which might arise in the Council, all the secrets of which he knew.²

But more detrimental to the Company's interest than his residing at Madras, was the nature of his pecuniary transaction with certain English gentlemen, who furnished him with money, whenever he called for it at an enormous rate of interest. The Nawab and his creditors were not adversaries but formed a combination, which resulted in the aggrandizement of their own resources at the expense of the public revenues and the miserable inhabitants of the Carnatic.³ At one time Muhammad Ali's debt amounted to £2,945,600, and assignments for that amount were held by English creditors upon his territories. In 1770, John Call,

1. Trial, p 1071.

2. Stanhope, Vol. VII. p 396.

3. Burke, Vol. IV p 20. Works and Correspondence.

James Bouchier and a few other individuals held assignments upon the revenues of fifteen districts of the Nizam's country, which yielded £320,000 annually, also upon the yearly tribute paid by the Rajah of Tanjore to ^{1.} Mohammed Ali, a sum of £ 40,000. It was to the interest of these creditors that the Nizam should be all powerful and in one of these letters written in 1739, the Directors express the suspicion that perhaps the real motive for their servants' aggrandizement of Mohammed Ali's power had its source in the debt which he owed to them. Admiral Pigot declared in the House of Commons that his brother had been offered a bribe of £500,000 in English money to defer the re-istatement of the Rajah of Tanjore for a short and specified time.

Foremost among these money-lenders was Mr. Paul Benfield, a man whose name Burke has made known to posterity by his famous speech upon the "Nabob of Arcot's Debts". He was a man of humble birth, who had succeeded in initiating himself into the Nizam's favor and had practically become a member of his family. In 1774 he was appointed a junior merchant of the Company with a salary of £ 1000. He was a man of extravagant tastes and was conspicuous for the fine horses and carriages which he kept. Yet he claimed to have accumulated vast sums of money, and in 1775 in a letter to Lord Pigot he alleged that he had assignments amounting to £234,000 upon the revenues of Tanjore for money

loaned by him to the Nawab.

After Lord Pigot's return, Benfield's claims came up for discussion in the Council. He was able to produce no satisfactory evidence of the validity of his claims but said that the transactions in regard to them were recorded in the books of the Kacheri, which he never produced, and that the Nawab would swear to the truth of them.^{1.} There were two questions, which arose in regard to the matter: first whether the claims had any real basis of support or were only a scheme, devised by Benfield and the Nawab to secure the revenues of Tanjore; and secondly, if the debt was real, did it give Benfield any right to assignments upon a country, which had passed out of the possession of the Nawab into that of the Rajah.

Upon May 29 a majority of the Council decided against the claims of Mr. Benfield and the matter was supposed to be settled.^{2.} But to quote Malleeson, "Benfield possessed a power, which in all countries and at all times has rendered the administration of justice extremely difficult- he had the power of the purse;"^{3.} and on June 3, Mr. Brooke, to the great surprise of Lord Pigot, moved that the resolution in regard to Benfield be reconsidered on the grounds that the significance of it had not been rightly interpreted, when the previous vote of the Council had

1. *Ibid.*, p 1200-1.

2. *Ibid.*, p 1074.

3. Malleeson p 252. Life of Warren Hastings.

been taken; that instead of demanding their assistance as a matter of right, as they had then expressed, Mr. Benfield only requested their interposition as a favor. Accordingly, the decision of Mr. B. was received by a majority of seven to five.¹ The seven members of the Council, who had arranged themselves on the side of Benfield, and who were heartily opposed to the measure, which Lord Pigot proposed, were George Stratton, Henry Brown, Charles Floyer, Archibald Miller, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, and Sir Robert Wether, the commander-in-chief of the forces in the Madras Presidency. The other members of the Council, namely: Claude Russell, Alexander Dalrymple, John Stone and Richard Latham, voted with Lord Pigot.

When the Council met on the next day, Lord Pigot desired to propose a motion, but it was immediately set aside by Mr. Mackay, who came forward with a proposal, which he said that he had given notice of upon the preceding day, namely that all assignments and mortgages made by the Nabob were valid. It was carried and then Lord Pigot thought that he ought to be heard and proposed that the Council write to Nizam Ali in order to secure accurate information concerning the assignments which he had made. This proposal was not headed and a second motion of Mr. Mackay's was carried that the Council should recommend to the Rajah to restore last year's grain to Benfield and to aid

1. April, 1878.

him in every possible way to recover his debts.

Lord Pigot then moved that Benfield's claims were of a private not public nature. A hot discussion followed and it was finally decided that they were private, so far as Benfield was concerned but public in regard to the Rajah. The Rajah's claims had been made to the restoration of the Rajah to the throne of his ancestors.¹ It was only when official measures were taken to restore his revenues that the question as to a serious aspect led to division in the Council. It was then that the first opposition arose to the reform, which Lord Pigot had declared necessary in order to preserve the settlement from ruin.

Upon the 20th of July, Lord Pigot proposed that a chief and council be appointed to carry on the commercial interests of the Company at Tanjore. This measure was not favourably received by a majority of the members of the Council, but it was finally decided to appoint a Resident at Tanjore and Mr. Russell's name was submitted by the Governor.² Previous to this time however a letter had been sent by Colonel Stuart, who was the officer second in command to Sir Robert Fletcher in which he asserted his right to the military station at Tanjore. According to the rule regularly followed Vellore was the port assigned to the one second in command; but Colonel Stuart deemed

1. *Ibid.*, p 1078.
 2. *Ibid.*, p 1080.
 3. *Ibid.*, p 1081.

it more advantageous to reside at Tanjore, and the Majority found it to their interest to support an officer, who was in sympathy with their plans, and who would conduct affairs agreeably to their views. They accordingly proposed Colonel Stewart's name, and upon the 24th of July, he was appointed to the command of the post of Tanjore.

Mr. Russell had been named by the Directors as a member of the Committee, which was to investigate the state of affairs in the Northern Circars, and which was to proceed upon its mission as soon as the business in regard to Tanjore had been settled.¹ The Majority of the Council availed themselves of this circumstance to dispose of Mr. Russell and voted that the Committee should depart at once to carry into execution the orders of the Directors. This action was opposed by Lord Pigot for the reason that the restoration of the Rajah could not be considered as definitely effected, and therefore Mr. Russell was not yet under any obligation to proceed to the Northern Circars. The Council, however, were obstinate in the matter, and although they allowed Mr. Jourdan and Mr. Mackay, who had been appointed on the Committee, to excuse themselves, they refused to allow Mr. Russell the same privilege. Lord Pigot then moved that two members of the Council, who resided at distant settlements, and who would be unbiased

1. April, 1804.

in regard to the situation of affairs, he invited to attend the Council and to vote upon the question under discussion. This proposal was rejected, and the Council adjourned until the 19th of August, when it met again and the Governor came forward with the proposition to send Mr. Russell's Troop for a specified term of days. This measure was not approved and Mr. Floyer moved that a copy of instructions to Colonel Stuart, which had been prepared by the commanding officer be considered by the Council.

Then Lord Pigot said that it was necessary either to yield to the wishes of the Majority, or to prepare to dispute their authority. He determined upon the latter course and stated the powers which he believed to be devolved upon him by virtue of his position. As President of the Council, he considered himself an integral part, without whose concurrence no lawful business could be transacted. An act passed by the majority without his signature could by no means be considered to constitute a legal act of government. He refused to put the question in regard to the instructions to Colonel Stuart, and the attitude which he assumed in regard to the matter is given in his own words to the Council upon this occasion. He said: "Gentlemen, consider what you are about; I will not sign the instructions to Colonel Stuart, and the person, who is to act upon these instructions must act at his peril."^{1.}

1. Trial, pp 1084, 1081-2.

After much debating upon the subject, the Council adjourned.

On the following day, the motion in regard to the orders to Colonel Stuart was again made, but the President persisted in refusing to put the question and declared that he would not allow it to be agitated in the Council. The day was spent in hot debates upon the powers of the President, and the Council was finally adjourned for two days.

On the 23rd, the Council assembled for the last time as an entire body. After the meeting was called to order, Mr. Stratton called for the reading of extracts from the standing orders of the Company, which strictly enjoined that all affairs should be transacted in the Council according to the vote of the Majority.¹ Lord Pigot then proposed that the matter under discussion be dropped until the pleasure of the Directors in regard to it be known. This suggestion did not meet with the approval of the Majority; and as the President refused to sign the instructions to Colonel Stuart, they determined to take affairs into their own hands and to draft a letter to the Secretary, authorizing him to place his signature upon them. The letter was written and approved by the Majority. The members of the Council were then called upon to sign it. Two of the Majority, Mr. Stratton and Mr. Peckle had placed their names upon it and the other five were about ready to follow their example, when it

1. Defense, pp. 7-8.

was snatched away by Lord Pigot. At the same time he produced a paper from his pocket and read the following charge before the Council: "I charge George Stratton and Henry Brooke, esquires, with being guilty of an act subversive of the authority of the Governor and tending to the disturbance of the peace."^{1.}

According to the orders of the Company, no member against whom a charge had been preferred was allowed to deliberate or vote upon any question relating to the charge. Lord Pigot had thus excluded Messrs. Stratton and Brooke from a voice in the Council and had succeeded in gaining a majority by his own casting vote. This manoeuvre enabled him to carry a motion for the suspension of the two members in question and thus secure a permanent majority.^{2.} No more business was transacted upon the 13th, but a summons was issued for the Council to meet the next morning. The names of Messrs. Stratton and Brooke were not included in the summons, and none of the Majority attended. But they met privately and sent a protest to Lord Pigot, which was circulated among the principal civil and military servants of the Company. It denounced the suspension of the two members of the Council on the previous day as illegal and required the obedience of the settlement to the Majority, who considered all lawful

1. *Ibid.*, p. 1221.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1222.

authority to be vested in them. Upon the same day they issued an order to Col. Stuart, which was dated at 3P.M.^{1.} By this order the command of the army was conferred upon him on account of the illness of Sir Robert Fletcher, and he was directed to put the Majority in possession of the fort and to arrest the person of Lord Pigot, if he should deem it necessary. According to the affidavits of the Majority at the time of their trial, the above order was dated at eight o'clock in the evening instead of at three o'clock in the afternoon. They said that the eight o'clock had been indistinctly written, and had been mistaken for a three; that they would look no notice for the arrest of Lord Pigot, until after they had heard of his violent measures in regard to the Majority of the Council and Sir Robert Fletcher, although they had circulated the protest early in the day.^{2.}

Lord Pigot and the minority of the Council met twice during the day. At a meeting held at four o'clock in the afternoon, they decided that the illegal usurpation of the government by the Majority called for their immediate suspension from the Council. Accordingly, it was resolved to suspend those members, who had signed the protest and to order the arrest of Sir Robert Fletcher and his trial by a court-martial, which might have meant death to him, if he had been convicted.^{3.}

1. *Ibid.*, p. 1086; also *Defence*, p. 10.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1140.

3. *Original Papers*, pp. 55, 56.

Upon the same day, Lord Pigot offered the command of the army to Colonel Stuart. He declined and determined to support the Majority of the Council and to carry into execution their orders for the arrest of Lord Pigot.^{1.}

But it was decided that the Governor should not be arrested within the fort, as any violence done to him there, might involve those who participated in it, in the severe penalties of the Mutiny Act. Upon the 24th of August an opportunity was offered to Colonel Stuart to carry out his plan. He passed the greater part of the day with Lord Pigot and when evening came set out with him for the purpose, Lord Pigot supposed, of supping with him at the Company's Garden-house. In the meantime according to a regular preconcerted plan, Colonel Eidingtoun had stationed himself with a party of sepoys at a short distance from Madras, and when the carriage containing Lord Pigot and Colonel Stuart came in sight, he hastened to surround it with his troops. Lord Pigot was arrested and driven away in a chaise, which belonged to Benfield, to Mt. St. Thomas, where he was put in the custody of Major Horne^{2.} under the charge of a battery of artillery.

The Majority immediately assumed the direction of the government and appointed Mr. Stratton as their President. Although they had claimed that their principal motive for resistance to Lord Pigot, had been his arbitrary conduct

1. Stuart, Letter 1, pp 6,7.

2. For a more detailed account of the arrest, see Stuart's Letter 1, pp 28-37; also Trial p 1087.

in regard to the suspension of Messrs. Brooke and Stratton, yet one of their very first acts^{1.} was to suspend all the members of the Council, who had differed from themselves in opinion and who had voted with Lord Pigot.

Upon the next day after Lord Pigot's arrest, Major Hbrne received an order signed by Messrs. Fletcher, Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, Mackay, Palmer and Jourdan, in which he was directed to allow no letters to be conveyed to the deposed governor to receive his signature and also to inform him, that in case there should be any attempt to rescue him, as a last resource his life must answer for it. The Major was further infermed that the Nawab had been applied to for a body of horse to be stationed at the Mount in order to facilitate the means of communication between the Major and the authorities at Madras.^{2.}

It was claimed that the action of Mr. Glaude Russell upon the previous night had rendered these precautions necessary, that he had been discovered within the fort in the act of inciting the soldiers to take up arms in behalf of Lord Pigot against the usurpers of the government, that not only did he intrigue with the troops^{3.} in the garrison but also with the artillery at the Mount, and that through his visits and those of his associates, further trouble was likely to result to the settlement.

1. Trial, p 1291.

2. Ibid, pp 1211, 1250.

3. Defence, p 14.

It was decided to remove Lord Pigot to a greater distance from the Fort, and upon the night of the 27th, Colonel Eidingtoun appeared at the Mount in Benfield's chaise between eleven and twelve o'clock at night and ordered that Lord Pigot should be delivered into his hands. His Lordship declared that he would not be removed except to his fort or upon board of one of his Majesty's ships. He threw himself upon Major Horne for protection and made an appeal to the soldiers, who had been ordered to remove him and with many of whom he had fought at Madras. When Colonel Eidingtoun called out to them to obey orders, there was a profound silence and not one of them offered to advance. They refused to take possession of Lord Pigot's person, and Major Horne finally effected a compromise in the matter, by securing Lord Pigot's word that there should be no disturbance until they had further orders, and by making himself responsible to Colonel Eidingtoun for the prisoner's safe-keeping. A report was circulated upon this occasion that it had been the intention of Lord Pigot's enemies to remove him to Gingi, a fortress situated in a most unhealthy district, but this report was denied by them. They said that they had proposed to take him to Chengalpat, but that they were willing that he should have his choice of any place upon the coast.^{1.}

1. See Defence ,pp 14,15: also Trial, pp 1134-5.

Directly after his imprisonment, Lord Pigot had claimed the protection of the King's flag, and Rear Admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, who was in command of the squadron at the East India Station, had requested in his Majesty's name that the authorities of Madras should give orders for his Lordship's safe conduct to his ship. There were several letters written in regard to the matter, in which the Council refused to surrender Lord Pigot into the hands of Sir Edward Hughes, unless he would answer for the peace of the Carnatic, which he declined to do, declaring that since the requisition was made in the King's name, no terms were admissible.^{1.}

It has been stated that an attempt was made by the Nawab's son to assassinate Lord Pigot while at the Mount, but there is no evidence to prove this statement. Lord Pigot did not receive harsh treatment. His friends were allowed to visit him; but there was always an officer with him wherever he went, and he was not allowed to converse with anyone except in his presence. He spent a great deal of time working in the garden and to this occupation his opponents very cleverly laid the charge of his death. They said that his last illness was due to constant exposure to the excessive heat of a tropical climate.^{2.} But the strength of his constitution was impaired

1. Auber, Vol.1, pp 528-9.

2. Defence, pp 23-26.

by the anxiety and disgrace to which his long imprisonment had subjected him. He recovered from his first attack of illness but suffered a relapse, and on April 28, 1777 upon the advice of the principal physician at Madras, it was finally decided to remove him from the Mount to the Company's Garden-house, which was near the sea. Although no guard had attended him upon his removal, he had no sooner reached his destination than Major Horne appeared with a body of Sepoys and said that he had been censured by the Council for allowing his Lordship to enter the town without a guard.^{1.}

Upon the 8th of May, Lord Pigot was told by his physician that he had only a few days to live, and upon the 9th, he began to make preparations for his approaching death. He dictated a letter to the Company in the clearest possible manner and made a codicil to his will. Although his constitution was worn out by the troublesome events through which he had passed, his intellectual powers were yet strong and gave evidence of the firmness and resolution, which had been marked traits of his character. He died upon Sunday the 11th of May 1777, after having been kept a prisoner from the 23d of August 1776 to the time of his death. Mr. Monckton, his son-in-law immediately secured the body of the deceased and upon the fol-

1. An. Reg. 1778, p 166.

lowing day the funeral obsequies were held and the body promptly interred on account of the great heat of the climate.

Upon the day of Lord Pigot's death, an inquest was begun, which was in charge of the Coroner Mr. Ram, and which continued in session until the 7th of August, 1777, when the jury pronounced the following verdict. "That George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay in the civil service of the East-India Company at Madras, and Brigadier-general Sir Robert Fletcher, Colonel James Stuart, Lieutenant-Colonel James Eidingtoun and Captain Arthur Lysaght in the said Company's service at Madras and Major Matthew Horne, commanding the corps of artillery in the said Company's service then stationed at St. Thomas's Mount, did in manner and means therein recited, feloniously, voluntarily and of their malice forethought, kill and murder the said Lord Pigot, and that a sergeant and sepoy therein described and certain officers and soldiers belonging to the corps of artillery, and another sergeant and other sepoy stationed at the Garden-house, all of whom were to the Jurors unknown, were at divers times present, aiding, abetting, assisting and maintaining the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher and the other persons before named to do and commit the felony and murder aforesaid."¹

1. Stuart, Letter 1, p 42.

Upon the 24th of September 1777, their verdict was sent by the Coroner to Mr. James Whitehill, who had succeeded as Acting-Governor of Madras, August 8, 1777, with a request that he would aid in apprehending the persons accused of being responsible for the death of Lord Pigot. The Governor felt himself bound to issue an order for their arrest and placed it in the hands of the Sheriff of Madras. Mr. Stratton and the other gentlemen mentioned in the verdict were accordingly placed in the custody of the sheriff, from which they were not released until some time in October, when after Sir Edward Hughes and some other competent witnesses had been examined by the Justices, it was decided to admit the prisoners to bail, which was fixed at £10,000 each.^{1.} The proceedings before the Justices continued until the end of November 1777, when the decision of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal in regard to the matter, was received. They stated that after a thorough examination of the facts of the case and the evidence contained in the Coroner's inquisition, they were of the unanimous opinion that there was not material enough to warrant the indictment of the persons accused, either for murder or manslaughter; and they further recommended that on account of certain irregularities in the Coroner's proceedings, they should be quashed or set aside. Upon the 26th of November 1777, the matter was

1. Stuart, Letter 1, p 44.

terminated by a resolution of the Justices of Madras, that the said proceedings were irregular and contrary to law and that as such they should be set aside and the persons accused be discharged by proclamation.

During the period of Lord Pigot's imprisonment and death and the proceedings immediately following it, the sympathies of the Mayor and the English inhabitants of Madras seem to have been with the deposed governor.^{1.} The Bombay Government also supported his claims,^{2.} but the Governor-General and Council at Calcutta took a different view of the case.

Both parties appealed to Calcutta for support. Warren Hastings and his colleagues were unanimous in the opinion that Lord Pigot had been the first to act with illegality, and they determined to support the Majority in their usurpation of the government. In a letter from the President and Council of Bengal to Acting-Governor Stratton, dated September 10, 1776, they expressed themselves thus: "We acknowledge the title and authority, which you have been compelled to assume, and we have resolved to support you in the government. In supporting that part of a divided administration, which is formed of a majority of its members, we support the legal and constitutional government."^{3.} "A circular letter was also written by"^{4.}

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1. An. Reg. 1777, p 103.
 2. Auber, Vol. 1, p 530.
 3. Original Papers, pp 101-2.
 4. Ibid, p 105.

Hastings and his Council to their subordinates, in which they stated that after having maturely considered the proceedings of George Stratton and the other members of the Majority of the Council at Madras, they concurred in the opinion that the seizure of the government and the deposition of Lord Pigot was warranted by the necessity of the case. Yet in another place, they express their regret at the violent measures, which have been resorted to, in the following words: " We judge it proper however to mention that we should have been very glad to offer our mediation to conciliate past differences instead of pursuing the more decisive line, which we have adopted, had we conceived any hope of success: but we feared that your differences had gone too far to admit of it and that a want of success in promoting that desirable end, might have been attended with consequences more fatal than any which can result from our present decided resolution". Hastings was probably governed largely by expediency and according to Malleon he realized that in taking the part of Lord Pigot, he would be giving his sanction to a principle, which his own divided council might have used as a weapon against himself. Mr. Francis declared that it was not consistent with his opinion at that time, but that an unlawful government under Stratton was thought to be better

1. Original Papers, p 102.

2. Malleon, r 253. Life of Warren Hastings.

than utter confusion at Madras. 1.

1. Trial, p 1217.

CHAPTER VI.

EVENTS IN ENGLAND FOLLOWING LORD PIGOT'S DEATH.

The proceedings of the Council at Madras were reported to the authorities in England by a letter dated the 24th of September 1776 and excited great indignation. The Court of Directors was about equally divided in regard to the matter.^{1.} One party accused Lord Pigot of arbitrary and irregular conduct, particularly in his suspension of the two members of the Council and his arrest of Sir Robert Fletcher. They agreed that the power of the majority must be manifested for the preservation of the peace of the settlement; that it had been an unwise stroke of policy to restore the Rajah of Tanjore; and that Lord Pigot by his harsh measures toward the Nawab had endangered the Company's interests upon the Coromandel Coast. Severe reflections were also cast upon the deposed governor's character.

But there was an equally strong element in the Court of Directors in favor of Lord Pigot, and they maintained that strict justice had demanded the restoration of the Rajah; that it would be fatal to the Company's jurisdiction to allow their servants to act contrary to their express commands and to degrade Indian princes whom they had promised to protect; that the dangers on the coast had

1. An. Reg. 177, pp 103-105.

not arisen from the policy, which Lord Pigot had pursued toward the Nawab, but from the overgrown power of that ally of the English, who should not be allowed to encroach with his lazy treacherous Muhammadans upon the rights of the honest, industrious subjects of the Rajah. The latter must be maintained in his power in order to act as a check upon the insatiable greed of Muhammad Ali for dominion .

In the General Court of the Proprietors, decisive measures were adopted to retrieve the disrepute into which the Company had fallen in India. A resolution was passed by a majority of 382 to 140, recommending the Court of Directors to restore Lord Pigot and to inquire into the conduct of those who had conspired in his deposition. ^{1.}

As a result of their resolutions upon the 11th of April 1777, the Court of Directors proposed several motions to this effect: ^{2.} that Lord Pigot and the members of the Council, who had supported him, should be restored to the full exercise of the powers vested in them by the Company; that the seven members, who had formed the majority of the Council and who had subverted the government, should be suspended and were to be restored, only by an immediate act of the Directors; furthermore, that Lord Pigot's proceedings at Madras appeared to have been deserving of censure in several instances: and that the Court had determined to issue positive orders in regard to the power

1. An. Reg. 1777, p 105.

2. Gent. Mag. 1777, pp 192-3.

to be exercised by a majority of the Council in the future, and also to take into consideration effectual measures for the support of the just claims and authority of Muhammad Ali. When these propositions were submitted to the ballot, the votes were found to be equal, and the question was finally decided in the affirmative by resorting to the use of the lot.

The enemies of Lord Pigot were at work and warm debates ensued in regard to the matter in the General Court of the Directors. These debates ended in the passing of a resolution on May 9 by a majority of 414 to 517, which, although disapproving of Lord Pigot's removal from office, recommended that he should be recalled together with all the members of his Council, in order that their conduct might receive a thorough investigation.^{1.}

Parliament also entered into the struggle. Governor Johnstone, who was distinguished for his interest in Indian affairs and whose brother had been a conspicuous member of the Civil Service in Bengal in the days of Clive, moved several resolutions in the House of Commons strongly in favor of Lord Pigot's administration at Madras and opposed to the proposition for his recall. This action of Governor Johnstone met with strenuous opposition. It was declared that Lord Pigot had acted contrary to the provisions of Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773; that his conduct

1. An. Reg. 1777, pp 106-7.

deserved censure as well as that of the Majority, and that the only way to effect substantial justice was to recall both parties and make a strict inquiry into their conduct.

On the other hand, Lord Pigot's friends insisted that his actions had been fully justified; that Muhammad Ali had acquired a dangerous influence not only at Madras, but that from every part of England, his agents had been called together in Leadenhall Street upon the 9th of May to carry a dangerous resolution which said that Lord Pigot, who had persisted in fulfilling the instructions of the Company at the loss of his power and eventually of his life, should be restored for a moment and then immediately degraded and brought to England under the same charge of delinquency as those, who had subverted the government of Madras. Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made to carry Johnstone's resolution, it was rejected by a majority of 90-67.¹

After these proceedings, a commission was prepared under the Company's seal, which was dated June 10, 1777, and which restored Lord Pigot to office: but it also demanded that one week later, he should deliver the government over to his successor and sail for England. All members of his Council were recalled with him, and the officers of military rank, who had been instrumental in any way in effecting his arrest, were to be tried by court-

1. An. Reg. 1777, pp 107-110.

martial at Madras.

While this inquiry was going on, a provisional government was to be formed at Madras with Thomas Rumbold at its head, John Whitehill[†] to be second in council and Hector Munro, commander-in-chief of the forces, to be third without any power of advancement.^{1.} Regulations were also laid down at this time for the guidance of the Council in the future. Before the pleasure of the Company was made known at Madras, Lord Pigot had died. Under the new provisions, Mr. Whitehill became acting governor until the arrival of Thomas Rumbold upon the 8th of February, 1778.^{2.}

Colonel James Stuart and the other officers, who had been instrumental in the arrest and imprisonment of Lord Pigot were never brought to trial. The Government of Madras maintained that the officers had acted under the orders of superior authorities, and that in order to look upon the arrest and imprisonment of the late Governor as acts of mutiny and the persons concerned therein as criminals to be tried by an express article of war, it was necessary to prove that the instructions, under which they had acted, were illegal. This the President and Council of Madras did not feel themselves competent to do, as it would involve them in questions of too fine and subtle a nature, upon the decision of which the lives of individuals would depend.

1. An. Reg. 1777, pp 107-110.
2. Stuart, Letter 1, pp46,47.

Upon the 16th of April 1779, Admiral Hugh Pigot, the brother of the deceased Governor of Madras and his successor in Parliament for Bridgnorth, took up his cause in the House of Commons: and after he had preferred several charges of a very serious nature against the members of the Council, who had caused Lord Pigot's deposition and death, he moved that an address be presented to the King, asking for the prosecution of four of them, who had returned to England. His resolution was carried and an address was made to his Majesty, who was pleased to give directions for the prosecution of Messrs. Stratton, Brooke, Flower and Mackay.¹ Accordingly, the Attorney-General of the Crown, Alexander Wedderburne¹ filed an information against the above-named gentlemen for depriving the right honorable George Lord Pigot of his office of Governor and President of the Council of Madras, for arresting and imprisoning his person for the space of nine months and for unlawfully assuming to themselves the command of the army and the government of all the settlements of the Company upon the Coromandel Coast.¹ The Defendants pleaded "Not Guilty."

The Trial was held in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster Hall before the Earl of Mansfield upon the 20th of December 1779. The Attorney-General of the Crown, Alexander Wedderburne, opened the case with an eloquent speech in which he stated the principal facts in support of the prosecution. The first part of his speech was an account of the

1. For a more detailed account of the proceedings of the case see Trial pp 1015-1292.

events, which had transpired in regard to Tanjore during Lord Pigot's first administration of the Government of Madras and the period following it, down to the time of the division in his Council after his return to India in 1775. He attempted to show that Lord Pigot was under the necessity of suspending Messrs. Stratton and Brooke, in virtue of his authority as President of the Council, in order that he might not be obstructed by them in his execution of the Company's orders for the restoration of the Rajah; that as far as the claims of Benfield were concerned, they were fraudulent and were the result of a collusion between him and the Nawab in order to gain possession of the revenues of Tanjore; and that after the arrest of their Governor, the Majority had murderous designs upon his life, in case that he should attempt to show any resistance. Finally the Attorney-General inquired by what authority this violent revolution had been accomplished. If Lord Pigot had refused to put the question proposed in the Council, as his accusers stated, did that give the Majority a legal right to depose and imprison him? Was he not amenable to the laws of his country rather than to any assumed authority of the Council?

After the conclusion of this speech, a great mass of written evidence was read in support of the prosecution, which hinged upon the orders given by the Directors to Lord Pigot. The reading of these papers took several hours, after

which the postillion, who drove Lord Pigot's chaise and Edward Monckton, his son-in-law, were sworn.

Mr. Dunning, who was the leading counsel for the Defendants, followed with a speech, which was a brilliant attempt to support a weak cause. He said that Lord Pigot had exercised powers, which were not vested in him by the authority of the Company, and that it was a political necessity for the Majority to depose and imprison him: but that they had no murderous intention upon his life. He finally rested his defence upon the approbation of the Supreme Council of Bengal, expressed in certain papers and letters, which he had read. The principal point brought out in the Attorney-General's reply was that although Mr. Benfield was in England, the Counsel for the Defence had not dared to call upon him to give evidence, because they knew that it would incriminate the Defendants.

Lord Mansfield summed up the case in a clear and concise manner. He said that there were three points for the Jury to consider: First, what was the constitution of Madras? Secondly, whether Lord Pigot had violated that constitution? and thirdly, if he had violated it, would that justify the conduct of the Defendants? Only on the ground that there was absolute necessity for the arrest of Lord Pigot in order to preserve the settlement, could they be acquitted.

The Jury retired for a short time, and at two o'clock

in the morning brought in a verdict of Guilty.

Upon the 3d of February 1780, Westminster Hall was crowded to hear sentence pronounced upon the members of the Council, who had deposed Lord Pigot. On behalf of the Defendants, the affidavits of Messrs. Stratton, Brooke, Floyer and Mackay were read; also those of Matthew Horne and of Richard Sullivan, who was secretary of the Council of Madras at the time of the trouble.

Judge Ashurst then arose to pronounce the judgement of the court. He said that if Fort St. George had belonged to the Crown, the deposition of Lord Pigot would have been high treason; but since it was under the Company's jurisdiction, it was only a misdemeanor. Therefore he sentenced the Defendants to pay a fine of £ 1000 each.

Messrs. Stratton, Brooke, Floyer and Mackay immediately paid their fines and were discharged, and then the last attempt was foiled to inflict punishment upon the members of the Council of Madras, who had subverted the government and condemned their governor to die, surrounded by guards upon a foreign shore.

Lord Pigot was unmarried. On his death, the Irish peerage became extinct, while his brother Robert succeeded him as second baronet. He left two natural sons: Richard Pigot, a general in the army and colonel of the fourth dragoon guards, who died in 1868; Sir Hugh Pigot, K.C.B.

admiral of the *White*, who died in 1857: and a daughter Sophia, who was married in 1776 to Honorable Edward Monckton of Staffordshire and died 1834.^{1.}

Lord Pigot had in his possession a celebrated diamond, which he bequeathed to his brother Robert and Hugh and his sister Margaret. It weighed forty-seven and a half carats and was valued at £ 40,000. In 1801, it was disposed of by means of lottery, which was specially authorized by Act of Parliament. It finally passed into the hands of the Pasha of Egypt, who, when he was mortally wounded in 1822, caused it to be crushed to powder in his presence.^{2.}

Two mezzotint engravings of Lord Pigot are in existence: one by Benjamin Green after George Stubbs, and another by Seaman after Powell. In 1778, an elegy upon his death was published in eighty-eight stanzas.

1. Dic. Nat. Biog. Vol. XLV, p 280.
 2. Murray's *Memoirs of the Diamond*, 2nd Ed. p 67,-quoted in Dic. Nat. Biog. Vol. XLV, p 280.

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